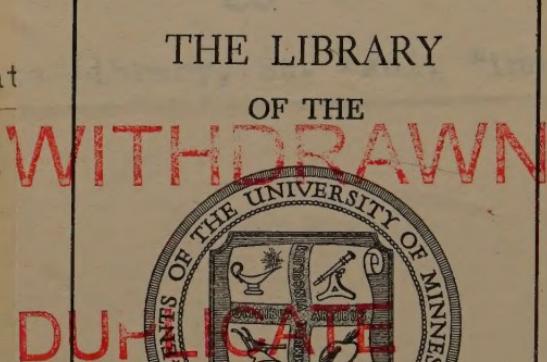


THE TRAGEDY *of* HUNGARY

AN APPEAL FOR WORLD PEACE

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THE TRAGEDY OF HUNGARY

AN APPEAL FOR WORLD PEACE

BY

LOUIS K. BIRINYI, A.B., LL.B., LL.D.

MEMBER
CLEVELAND, OHIO, BAR



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To

The revered memory of the late
Reverend J. M. L. Lyerly, Ph. D.

and to

Mrs. J. M. L. Lyerly of Crescent, N. C.

Who, when I was a stranger and an uneducated
“young foreigner” in this great land of Liberty, took
me into their warm and unselfish care, and, sharing
their bread with me, gave me the first opportunity to
acquire an American education, thus enabling me to
prepare myself for a useful life, this book is gratefully
inscribed by

The Author.

PREFACE

FRANKLY, this book is an appeal for justice for Hungary and for world peace. The outrage which the war plotters and war profiteers of Europe, together with the Paris Peace Conference, have committed against Hungary is linked so closely to the causes of the present world chaos, that it is futile to discuss world peace, without seeking justice and fair play for Hungary.

World peace, if it is to come, must be preceded by world justice. If our present civilization desires world peace, it is of utmost importance that civilized mankind should assume the attitude of rendering justice to those to whom manifest injustice was done; for without international justice there cannot be international peace.

It is not generally known that before, during and after the world war, Hungary was treated by the war plotters and war profiteers of Europe with a bitterness which can be explained only by the history of Hungary and by the historical facts leading to the outbreak of the world war, and, afterward, to the door of the Paris Peace Conference.

Hungary is situated in the center of Southeastern Europe. The Paris Peace Conference mutilated the territory of Hungary by cutting off two-thirds thereof and distributing the several parts among four foreign countries. Before Hungary was mutilated, Southeastern Europe was an economic unit. The mutilation of Hungary disturbed that economic unit. The result is economic chaos.

Peace in Europe, or world peace, if you please, can be re-established on only one condition: the restoration of the economic unity of Hungary and of Europe. This truth appears clearly and,—let us hope,—convincingly in this book.

If you know the reasons for and the purposes in the cruel mutilation of the territory of Hungary, you know the underlying reasons for and purposes in the present chaotic situation in Europe. *If you know why the international financiers hate Hungary, you know the reasons why there is no world peace.*

To understand and appreciate fully the tragedy of Hungary and its connection with world peace, it is necessary to know the history of Hungary. Therefore, I give herein a brief but comprehensive history of Hungary, weaving around it those historical facts and

AN APPEAL FOR WORLD PEACE

incidents, which hurled Europe into the world war. These facts and incidents, I trust, will leave no doubt as to the compelling reasons for my appeal for justice for Hungary and for world peace.

By assembling the most conclusive historical facts and the most convincing historical events, I have, as a matter of fact, diagnosed the ills of Europe. The diagnosis is followed by the prescription of the natural and logical remedies. In the last two chapters I describe the method whereby world peace can be had.

The sources of my information and the quotations used throughout this book are duly credited in foot notes. In tracing the history of Hungary up to 1848, I have used Arminius Vámbéry's "The Story of Hungary." The quotations used in the outline of the history of Hungary are taken from that book, unless otherwise indicated.

I desire to thank Rev. Stephen F. Chernitzky, of Bridgeport, Connecticut, for reading the manuscript hereof and for offering many valuable suggestions. My thanks are due to Mr. Andrew Sabo, of Shelton, Connecticut, for his many personal sacrifices which aided me greatly in the publication of this book. I appreciate the encouragements extended to me by my many friends while this book was in preparation.

Should this book be one of the means of focusing the rays of the sun of truth upon the chaotic situation in Europe, and thus aid in the restoration of Hungary to life, and in bringing peace to Europe, I shall consider my labors fully compensated, and that the life I am living is worth while.

Cleveland, Ohio, January 14, 1924.

LOUIS K. BIRINYI.

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I.

THE BIRTH OF THE HUNGARIAN NATION

About 884 A. D., the Hungarians* settled on the land known since that time as Hungary. At the time the Hungarians entered that territory it was practically a devastated desert. Charlemagne's own historiographer says that "one might have travelled through the entire land for months without meeting with a single house—so utter and terrible were the ruin and destruction." In the year 895, the settlement and complete occupation of the country was effected.

Immediately after the settlement of the country was completed, the Hungarians organized themselves into a State and formulated a constitution. The constitution was in the form of a contract among the people themselves and with their rulers. It was specifically agreed that whatever will be acquired by their united strength, it should profit them all; that their rulers shall always be elected from the house of the ruler, Álmos, then reigning; that the rulers, so elected, shall take counsel with the people; that the people shall be true to the ruler, and the ruler shall be true to the people; and that, in the event either should be found untrue to the other, such offending party should be duly punished. With the adoption and mutual ratification of that constitution, the Hungarian Nation was born.

The religion of the Hungarians was that of Shaman-

*The Hungarians are the Finnish branch of the Caucasian Race of Asiatic origin. Their real name is Magyars. Before the Magyars settled in Hungary, that country was inhabited by the Huns, who were the Turkish branch of the Caucasian Race, and since the Magyars lived on the land inhabited formerly by the Huns, the Latin writers referred to the Magyars as "Hungarians," that is, people living on the land formerly inhabited by the Huns.

ism. They believed in one Supreme Being, called "Isten."** But after having settled the country, they gradually came under the influence of Christianity. In 917 a Suabian monk, named Wolfgang, was spreading the doctrine of Christianity among the Hungarians in Hungary. In 974 the Bishop of Passau, named Pilgrin, was able to report to the Pope that about five thousand Hungarians had been baptized and that "under the benign influence of the miraculous grace of God those heathens, even those who have remained in their erring ways, forbid no one the baptism, nor do they interfere with the priests, allowing them to go where they please. Christians and heathens dwell together in such harmony that here the prophecy of Isaiah seems to be fulfilled: 'The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the ox.' "

The effort of the Christian missionaries was crowned with signal success in Hungary. In 993 St. Adalbert, the Bishop of Prague, entered Hungary and remained there until he converted and baptized even several members of the reigning family, among whom was Vayik, who was given the Christian name, Stephen, and who afterward was crowned the first king of Hungary.

The conversion and baptism of Stephen was a momentous event in the history of Hungary. As the result of that event Hungary became a member of the family of the nations of Western Europe and adopted the civilization of those nations which had already accepted Christianity.

Stephen was a young man twenty-eight years of age when he became the ruler of the Hungarians. With the fiery enthusiasm of youth and the deliberate constancy of manhood, he immediately embarked upon the task of building up the country and establishing in Hungary the civilization of the Western nations. He recognized no difficulty and spared no pains. In person

*Translated into English, "Isten" means God.

he visited the remotest parts of the country and spread the truths of Christianity and the gospel of civilization. Through his effort, the Hungarians embraced the Christian religion, accepted western civilization and Hungary became a member of the Christian nations of Western Europe.

After the work of converting the Hungarians was accomplished, Stephen organized the Christian Church on a firm basis. He divided Hungary into ecclesiastical districts and placed an ecclesiastical chief at the head of each district. Fortified places were erected throughout those districts to protect Christianity from her enemies. In worldly goods, Stephen was generous to the churches and endowed them with vast tracts of land. The result of this effort was that, as a Christian nation and worldly power, Hungary fairly rivalled any Christian nation in Europe.

So brilliant was the success of Stephen, that even the Pope, Sylvester II, genuinely admired him. In the year 1000 A. D. to an embassy sent by Stephen to Rome, the Pope exclaimed: "I am but apostolic; but thy master is, in truth, the apostle of Christ himself." As a mark of his admiration for him, the Pope granted Stephen and his successors the right of styling themselves "apostolic kings, and to have carried before them, on solemn occasions, the double cross, as an emblem of their independent ecclesiastical authority," As a further mark of his esteem, the Pope presented Stephen with a crown of gold, "in order to symbolize for all times to come the blessings bestowed upon the Hungarian kingdom by God's representative upon earth."

With that act and solemn blessing of the Pope, Hungary became and was ever since known to this day as the Hungarian Kingdom, and her kings were styled the "Apostolic King of Hungary."

In establishing the Hungarian Kingdom, Stephen* shaped its institutions after the pattern of the Western States, however, rejecting feudalism which was then prevalent and in a degenerated form in every State, except England. It should be remembered that the feudal system of that time divided the countries, in which it existed, into several parts with a feudal lord at the head of each part. Italy was sadly dismembered, France was divided into about fifty and Germany into five principalities of feudalistic character. That system was not introduced into Hungary.

The chief aim of Stephen was to strengthen Hungary and to that end he introduced such institutions as would prove most efficacious in the defense of the integrity and unity of the nation and country. It was then that the unique characteristic of the Hungarian came into full play. Stephen respected the rights of his people and protected them in their rights. He gave them self-government and they were to administer justice among themselves, the king interfering only in case of disagreement. The safety and prosperity of the commonweal were of common interest. When the country was in danger, all were to take up arms in its defense.

This harmonious arrangement was of utmost significance, indicating in the Hungarians a fervent love of country and a unique democratic tendency. While in Italy, France, Germany and other European countries, under the feudal system, the feudal lords and the rulers were pitifully divided and fighting among themselves, the Hungarians were living in harmony and in the atmosphere of, at least, initial democracy. This harmony

*King Stephen, the first King of Hungary, is known in the history of Hungary and to the Hungarian people, regardless of religious affiliation, as "King Saint Stephen" ("Szent István Király"). The 20th day of August of each year is celebrated in Hungary, as "Saint Stephen's day." On that day his embalmed right hand, which has been preserved through the ages, is carried about in a brilliant procession, with great pomp and solemnity, accompanied by religious ceremonies.

and democratic tendency of the Hungarians were recognized and admired by the peoples of the other European countries. Consequently, a steady stream of immigrants began to flow from various countries into Hungary.

It was the custom in Europe in that age that lands which were settled by foreigners were seized by the kings and claimed as their private properties. Stephen rejected that custom. He declared all unoccupied lands in Hungary to be the property of the State and divided them into counties, and placed at the head of each county an official, styled "Count." The people who settled on such land paid taxes into the treasury of the State, and a certain proportion of them were liable to military duty. These counties afterward developed into the county system of Hungary, which played an important role in the development of the Hungarian Nation.

Beside the counties, there were privileged territories and royal towns. These governed themselves by chief magistrates and judges, elected by the people themselves. In case of disagreement, they had the right to appeal to the king.

At its inception, it is true, the Hungarian Nation was composed of the same social strata which were found in every country in Europe at that time. There were owners of large estates and under them various classes of bondmen and servants. There were the Church and the nobility. But these various social strata did not divide the country. They were all united in one common aim, that of the security and prosperity of Hungary; and thus the Hungarian Nation was one united nation.

While the Hungarians did not then have a full constitution in the modern meaning of the term, yet on the foundation then laid was afterward gradually erected the full constitutional structure of Hungary. The foundation for a constitutional form of government having thus

been laid, the way was left open for a free and healthy development of political institutions.

Stephen ruled Hungary until 1038, in all forty-one years. During his long and wise reign, Hungary prospered materially and made rapid strides both in religion and intellectual and political advancement. The foundation of the Hungarian individual and national character was laid. The right of individuals to their property, to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness was recognized and protected. The characteristic aversion and decided opposition of the Hungarians to conquest and taking other people's property was definitely established; while it was then definitely ingrained into the mind of the Hungarians that their property must be protected from foreign invaders at all hazards. These characteristics remain with the Hungarians to the present day. *During the one thousand and odd years of her existence, the Hungarian Nation had never fought a war of conquest.* It is true that conquests were made by ambitious Hungarian kings to satisfy their own ambitions; but such conquests were of short duration, for the reason that the Hungarians had always resisted conquests for themselves and valiantly opposed attempts of foreigners to conquer Hungary.

The Hungarian Nation was born with the doctrine that "all men are equal"; and the nation grew to its manhood with that doctrine as its guide. In its adherence to and defense of this doctrine, the Hungarian Nation has struggled supremely and filled the pages of its history with brilliant deeds of valor and admirable patriotism. As will be seen further on, perhaps there is no nation on earth, that has struggled more and shed more of its own blood than the Hungarian Nation for the principles of equality of men and the recognition of the rights of others.

The beautiful sentiment and the excellent democratic spirit with which the Hungarian Nation was born is

perhaps best illustrated by the letter of Stephen to his son who was to succeed him. In that letter Stephen lays down the rules of government and definitely illustrates the sentiment and spirit which has guided the Hungarian Nation from its birth to this day:

"I command, counsel, and advise thee, above all, to preserve carefully the apostolic faith if thou wishest thy kingly crown to be held in respect, and to set such an example to thy subjects that the clergy may justly call thee a Christian man, for he who does not adorn faith with good deeds—the one being a dead thing without the others—cannot rule in honor."

Then he lays down the principle that "all men are equal" and, therefore, the king should rule them accordingly:

"The magnates of the realm, the lay lords, the high dignitaries and the warriors are, my dear son, thy fathers and thy brothers; neither call them nor make them thy servants. Let them combat for thee, but not serve thee. Rule over them peaceably, humbly and gently, without anger, pride and envy, *bearing in mind that all men are equal*, that nothing exalts more than humility, nor is there anything more degrading than pride and envy . . . govern them with thy virtue, so that inspired by love for thee, they may adhere to thy royal dignity."

In the administration of justice, Stephen lays down the rule of patience, careful inquiry and seasoned mercy:

"Whenever a capital cause or other cause of great importance be brought before thee for judgment, be not impatient, nor indulge in oaths beforehand that the accused shall be brought to punishment. Do not hasten to pronounce judgment thyself; but leave the cause rather in the hands of the regular judges. Fear the function of a judge, and even the name of a judge, rather rejoice in being and having the name of a righteous king. Patient

kings rule, impatient ones oppress. If, however, there be a cause which is fit for thee to decide, judge mercifully and patiently. . . .”

It will be remembered that during the reign of Stephen, this wise and benevolent rule as well as the democratic spirit pervading the form of government and the excellent patriotism then existing among the Hungarians, drew a large and steady stream of immigrants of all classes into Hungary. It will be further recalled that Stephen set aside for the immigrants government lands and thereby protected them against any possibility of exploitation either by the nobles or others. Regarding the immigrants, who became settlers and afterwards members of the Hungarian Nation, Stephen laid down the following rules:

“The Roman empire owed its growth, and its rulers their glory and power, chiefly to the numerous wise and noble men who gathered within its boundaries from every quarter of the world. Foreigners coming from different countries and places to settle here bring with them a variety of languages, customs, instructive matters and arms. A country speaking but one language, and where uniform custom prevails, is weak and frail. Treat and behave towards them decorously, so that they shall more cheerfully abide with thee than elsewhere”

To this instruction and rule of conduct toward the immigrants, the Hungarians ever thereafter adhered with religious tenacity; and, strangely enough, this generosity has been used at various times as a means of annihilating the Hungarian Nation, until, finally, the Peace Conference of Paris sounded the death knell of that unfortunate nation.

Stephen further defined what a Hungarian king must be. He must be “deemed the first” among the Hungarians and “merit the praise of the strangers.” Furthermore:

“The evil minded ruler who stains himself with

cruelty vainly calls himself king: but he deserves the name of a tyrant." The Hungarian king must be, "above all, gracious, not only to his kinsmen, to princes and to dukes, but also to his neighbors and subjects; be merciful and forebearing not only to the powerful but to the weak also. Be humble, moderate and gentle, be honorable and modest, for these virtues are the chief ornaments of thy kingly crown."

Such is the story of the birth of the Hungarian Nation. Born a heathen, within the period of a half century it became a confirmed Christian. Coming into life on a Continent, where feudalism and absolutism reigned supreme, the Hungarian Nation began its life with the principle that "ALL MEN ARE EQUAL." In the midst of the clamor of absolutism, young Hungary started on the path of constitutional and democratic form of government. The infant nation started on its life journey with great hopes for its future. All the indications augured a great and glorious history for it.

II.

THE GROWTH OF THE HUNGARIAN NATION

The precepts given and the rules of government laid down by Stephen were, with few exceptions, faithfully observed and followed by the young Hungarian Nation and its subsequent rulers. During the next three hundred years the kings were elected from among the descendants of Stephen, and Hungary maintained her position in a high rank among the nations of Europe. In power and wealth the Hungarians even surpassed some of the western countries and in the arts of civilization held an equal rank with that of other nations of Europe.

The rapid growth of the Hungarian Nation, however, was attended by hard struggles with internal and external enemies. The phenomenal prosperity and marvelous national advancement of the Hungarians excited the envy of some of the neighboring kings and rulers, and consequently various attempts were made to disrupt the Hungarian Nation and to reduce Hungary to a vassal State. The attempts were one by one frustrated, and the Hungarians continued to maintain their independence.

It was the custom of that age (1000 A. D.), and, indeed, that custom runs through European history, that the rulers sought to augment their dominion and power by conquering and grabbing the possessions of other peoples or rulers. The Hungarians, throughout their history, were compelled to contend with the rapacity of their neighbors. Foreign intrigues, wars, invasions were visited upon the Hungarians, although they themselves did not exhibit any inclination toward taking the

property of others. Indeed the entire history of Hungary is filled with the super-human struggle of the Hungarians to preserve their country and their independence.

The absolute, undiluted love of the Hungarians for their county and their undaunted advocacy of their independence are remarkably illustrated by the following incident: One of the descendants of Stephen, King Ladislaus (1077-1095), having been offered the German crown, promptly refused the offer with the terse and emphatic explanation that he "wished to be nothing but a Hungarian." It is also recorded that Pope Gregory II demanded that the Hungarian king should submit to the authority of the Pope. King Ladislaus again promptly and with clear emphasis replied that he was "ready to obey with filial submission and with his whole heart the Holy See as an ecclesiastical power, and his holiness the Pope as his spiritual father; but that he would not subordinate the independence of Hungary to anybody or anything."

Toward their enemies the Hungarians were generous and considerate. This is illustrated by the treatment they accorded towards the Kuns (Cumans) who in 1089 invaded Hungary. The invaders were defeated and afterward permitted to settle on the fertile plains of the country. At about the same time Croatia was added to the Kingdom. The Hungarians organized Churches for them, gave them religious leaders and thus spread Christianity among them. While teaching them the gospel of religion, the Hungarians compelled the invaders and the Croatians to learn to respect the property rights of others. The Kuns gradually assimilated themselves with the Hungarian Nation; while the Croatians remained in the Kingdom until the Peace Conference of Paris (1919) separated them from the Kingdom of Hungary and compelled them to become a part of the newly created state of Jugoslavia.

While reading the early history of the Hungarian Nation, one is constrained to wonder at the advance of modern thoughts and principles annunciated by the Hungarians in those remote and comparatively dark periods of civilization. Between the periods of 1095-1114, King Coloman (Kálman) is known as a great champion of learning and of good laws.

It was then the custom in Europe to persecute the so-called "witches" and, as it is now very clear, great injustice was done to the unfortunates charged with the crime of being "witches." King Coloman put a stop to such persecution by a law which said: "Of witches, who do not exist at all, no mention shall be made." And as to the administration of justice, the rule laid down for the judges was: "Everything shall be weighed on the scale of justice, that innocence, on the one hand, shall not be condemned from hatred, and, on the other hand, sin shall not be protected through friendship."

So long as the Hungarians were able to keep foreign influence out of Hungary, the Hungarians progressed both materially and in their national development and in learning; but, when foreigners obtained influence in the council of government, internal difficulties arose. King Andrew II (1205-1235) married a woman of Tyrolese descent and he came under her influence. He surrounded himself with foreign advisers, appointed foreigners to important governmental positions and delegated Ismaelites and Jews to collect taxes. These foreigners and tax collectors harassed the Hungarians to such a degree, that in defense of their rights and of the sacredness of their constitution, they united in the demand that the king must guarantee that neither their rights nor their constitution should be violated thenceforth. They compelled the king to give them a Bill of Rights (Golden Bull), which was similar to the Magna Charta of England. The king granted, in writing, the

Bill of Rights and took a solemn oath to keep the promises therein made.

The unselfish motives and the unquestionable fairness of the Hungarians, even at the time of their undisputed superiority in Hungary, are evidenced in the equal rights they demanded and obtained for the immigrants then and thereafter living in Hungary. The rights and guarantees were given not only to the Hungarians but also "to the other inhabitants" of Hungary.

The preamble of the Bill of Rights recites that it is made and given "In the name of the Holy Trinity and of the indivisible Unity," and then sets forth in brief:

That the rights therein granted apply not only to the Hungarians, but also to the immigrants living in Hungary; that one day in each year shall be set aside, on which the memory of Stephen, first King of Hungary, shall be celebrated; that the nobles shall not be oppressed or their property taken from them without due process of the law; that the nobles, the fighting men, shall not be taken out of the country to engage in war, except at the king's expense; that in case of invasion of the country, all must go to her defense; that foreigners shall not be appointed to administrative position, except by the consent of council of the Kingdom; that no counties, nor offices will be granted to any one in perpetuity; that officers of the treasury, salt bureaus and tax collectors shall be Hungarians only; that Ismaelites and Jews shall not hold such offices and shall not be tax collectors; that if any of the Hungarian kings should violate any of the rights enumerated, the Hungarians shall be at liberty to oppose the king without incurring the penalty of treason. That remarkable document was dated "in the year of grace one thousand two hundred twenty-two" (1222), exactly seven hundred years ago, and ever since it has been referred to and held by the Hungarians as their *constitution*.

England excepted, Hungary was the only country in

Europe that had a constitution, until towards the end of the 18th century. And it is worthy of note, that, in some respects, the constitution of the United States of America, stated in more modern style perhaps, corresponds to that old constitution of Hungary. The Hungarian Nation from the time of its birth, in 896, and during her independence, was averse to conquering and taking away other peoples' territory and possession; and, for that reason, even in the old constitution of 1222, the specific law is laid down, that the Hungarian army shall not be taken out of the country, except in case the king, out of his own means, pays the expenses. Inasmuch as the fighting men were not to be taxed, the kings' hands were virtually tied, and they were prevented from carrying on a war of conquest.

The Hungarians now breathed with more ease and the country continued in prosperity. The causes of international dissensions were eliminated and the foreign foes were defeated. A happy and prosperous future was smiling upon the growing Hungarian Nation. But the Hungarians were destined to further struggle and to meet powerful foes. The Hungarian nation was like a well bred and good intentioned young man trying to reach manhood in a locality infested with thugs and marauders. Sooner or later he is attacked and struck down and physically incapacitated. Such was the destiny of Hungary.

In 1238, a savage and powerful army of Mongolians invaded Russia; and, having burned to the ground everything in its way, it proceeded toward the South and threatened to invade and conquer Western Europe. Having razed Russia to dust, the terrible army crossed and devastated Poland and proceeded to invade Hungary. The Hungarians made preparation to oppose the invading hordes. At the same time, Béla IV, king of Hungary, sent a passionate appeal to the rulers of the West, imploring them in the name of Christianity to come to

his assistance to prevent the invasion of Hungary and the consequent invasion of Western Europe. The rulers of the West did not move, nor did they send help to the Hungarians. There was only one thing left to do, and that was to meet single handed the vast army of invaders. On March 12, 1241, an enormous Mongolian army, led by Batu Khan, crossed the Carpathian mountains and entered Hungary, ruthlessly burning and destroying everything in its way.

Left to its own fate, the Hungarian army, numbering about 60,000 men, met the invaders on the plain of Muhi. A dreadful fight ensued between the two opposing armies. From morning till the evening did the Hungarians fight and drenched with their blood the land they were defending. But the number of their opponents was against them. By night-fall the entire Hungarian army was annihilated. Only a few of the brave Hungarians were left and escaped with their lives. To all appearances, Hungary was lost and the Hungarian Nation was choked in its own blood on that battlefield. Rogerius, a contemporary writer, who was an eyewitness of that horrible conflict, recorded that "thou couldst see nothing along the roads but fallen warriors. Their dead bodies were lying about like stones in a quarry."

In that great misfortune, Hungary was favored by Providence in that the brave king, Béla IV, was rescued and enabled to escape death. The king immediately went to Frederick, the Duke of Austria, to whom he had previously sent his wife, his crown and royal treasures. Frederick, however, instead of extending hospitality to King Béla, made him a prisoner and kept him in custody until he agreed to turn over to Frederick his crown, royal treasures and several counties of Hungary. That was the first "holdup" an Austrian ruler executed against a Hungarian ruler or upon Hungary. In the history of Hungary, we meet frequently with Austrian rulers and

find them closely following the example of Duke Frederick.

Shamefully mistreated and virtually robbed by the Austrian ruler, King Béla IV returned to that part of Hungary which had not been overrun by the Mongolians, and collected a small army, planning to drive out the invaders. But before he could obtain any definite result, the Mongolians drove him to the Sea and threatened to annihilate him together with his army. All seemed to have been lost, unless Providence should interfere and, in some miraculous way, save from annihilation what was left of Hungary.

And a miracle, indeed, happened. The fierce army of the invaders suddenly stopped. The Mongolians folded up their tents and hurriedly turned their heels toward Hungary. The cause of that sudden turn of event was miraculous in itself. As if by Divine decree, Oktai, the ruler of the Mongolians, died and Batu Khan, the leader of the invading army, hurried back to Asia to supervise the election of a new ruler. Hungary, as if by a miracle, was saved from utter annihilation.

What was left of Hungary after the Mongols had departed is described by a contemporary writer, who says:

"Here and there a tower, half burnt and blackened by a smoke, and rearing its head towards the sky, like a mourning flag over a funeral monument, indicated the direction in which they were to advance. The highways were overgrown with grass, the fields with bleaching bones, and not a living soul came out to meet them. And the deeper they penetrated into the land, the more terrible became the sights they saw. When at last those who survived crept forth from their hiding places, half of them fell victims to wild animals, starvation, and pestilence. The stores laid up by the tillers of the soil the year before, had been carried away by the Mongols, and the little grain they could sow after the departure of the enemy had hardly sprung up when it was devoured

by locusts. The famine assumed such frightful proportions that starving people, in their frenzy, killed each other, and it happened that men would bring to market human flesh for sale. Since the birth of Christ no country has ever been overwhelmed by such misery."

The Mongolian invasion and its devastation was a severe blow to Hungary; but that misfortune caused King Béla and those Hungarians who were left alive to redouble their efforts to rebuild the country. Immigration into the country was encouraged and special inducements were given to settlers. The increase in the population of the country was so rapid that before five years had passed, the country was strong enough to threaten the destruction of the Mongolian army which planned again to invade Hungary.

While the Mongolians did not return to Hungary, the Hungarians had their hands full in coping with other enemies of the country. A Bohemian, called Ottokar, was planning to establish a great Slavic empire at the expense of Germany and Hungary. By the combined strength of Austria and Hungary, the plan of Ottokar was frustrated. But the struggle of Hungary did not cease. Ambitious owners of large estates began to break away from the traditional unity of the nation and caused an internal conflict. This was caused partly because the male line of the family of Stephen was nearing extinction. Various factions arose, each claiming the right and title to the throne. Duke Albert of Austria also claimed title to the Hungarian crown. In addition, an Italian family, the Neapolitan Anjous, who claimed to be descendants of the male line of Stephen, likewise pressed their claim. In 1301, King Andrew III, the last king of Hungary of the original ruling family's line died without leaving male issue; and with his death, the first lap of the journey of life of the Hungarian Nation had ended.

III.

THE ANJOUS IN HUNGARY

The Hungarian Nation now entered upon a new era. The male line of the original ruling family became extinct and with that, for the time being, the original character of official Hungary suffered a material change. The grave question now was: "Who shall be the next king of Hungary?" Under the original constitution the king was to be elected by the Hungarians, and that right they were now to exercise.

The election of a new king was an extremely complicated and serious problem. In the history of Hungary, the Hungarians now met for the second time a question the solution of which necessarily was of far reaching importance to the future of the Hungarian Nation. The first important problem, in the life of that nation, was solved when Stephen, the first king of Hungary, decided to Christianize Hungary. As has been seen, that decision was wise and inured to the great benefit of Hungary. But Stephen was a Hungarian of the original stock, and was guided by the inherent and peculiarly Hungarian adherence to fairness and democracy. The situation was now different. There were now three aspirants and pretenders to the Hungarian throne, all of whom were foreigners,—a Bohemian, a German, and an Italian. The important question to decide was: "Which one should be elected?"

The election of the new king was preceded by an internal war lasting eight years. Finally, and after the strength of the Hungarian Nation was nearly exhausted, the Italian, Charles Robert, who was one of the Nea-

politan Anjous, was elected king of Hungary, and thus became the founder of the Hungarian Anjous.

With the new ruler new ideas of government and State came into Hungary. The king was ambitious and his ultimate aim was to elevate his family to a dazzling height and also to enlarge the territory of Hungary. The old Hungarian principle respecting others' territory and possession was cast aside and the ambition of the king to enlarge his power and the territory of Hungary by conquest was the order of the day.

The kings of the House of Anjous were great kings in the sense that they encouraged the development of western civilization in Hungary and that the kingdom was enlarged by the addition of Poland, so that the Hungarian poet Bajza could sing: : "The shores of three seas formed the frontier walls of Hungary." These rulers had achieved a brilliant fame for Hungary as a powerful nation; and, for a time, the rulers of Europe sent their children to the Hungarian Court for their education.

But with all the glamour of greatness and power, the good old puritanic virtues of the original ruling family were no longer in evidence. Conquests and the highly brilliant Court life entailed great expenditures of money. To meet their obligations, these kings exploited the rich mines of the country, developed commerce and industry, and finally levied direct taxes for the first time in the life of the Hungarian Nation. When neither one nor all of these schemes produced enough money as revenue, even a part of Hungary was mortgaged. It is the inexorable verdict of history, that when a nation,—however great in ideals and principles it may be,—comes under the influence of foreigners, or is ruled by ambitious crowned or uncrowned kings who are actuated by caprice, that nation eventually will be destroyed and become extinct. Such appeared now to be the fate of Hungary.

The morals of the rulers of the House of Anjous and also of the rulers of the neighboring countries were rather low, measured by the standards of the original ruling family of Hungary. Infant children of royal families were betrothed; marriage contracts were violated; wife imprisoned by husband, conspiracy and murder:—these were the means of enhancing the greatness and the glory of the ruling families.

While the trading of crowns and the intrigues between the crowned heads of Hungary and of the neighboring countries were going on, the great Turkish peril loomed up. Hungary now entered upon the third stage of her national life, that of the terrible struggle with the Turkish Empire. It was in that struggle that the Hungarians saved Christianity and Christian civilization from annihilation.

IV.

THE FIRST STRUGGLE WITH THE TURKS

The Turkish danger was gradually becoming a reality. Europe was trembling with fear. Christianity and western civilization were in grave danger. The Turks were engaged in the act of invading Europe and sweeping before them wealth and nations, arts and learning, Christianity and civilization. In the year 1453, Mohammed II, Sultan of Turkey, entered Constantinople, the Capital of the Greek Empire and the gate to Europe, and made it the Capital of the Turkish Empire. Entering Constantinople, Mohammed II exclaimed: "There is one God in heaven, and one Lord on Earth, and I am that Lord!" There could be, and there was, no doubt in Europe concerning the intention of the Turks. Europe and Christian civilization appeared to be at their mercy.

The invasion of Europe by the Turkish army could be effected only through Hungary and Austria. Before this invasion the Turks had had several engagements with the Hungarian army, and in those engagements the Hungarians proved to be undefeatable. Therefore trembling Europe now rested its hope and faith in the Hungarians.

The Hungarians again measured up to the occasion. John Hunyadi, who rose from the peasant class, had by that time repeatedly defeated the Turkish armies, and his name was an object of reverence and fear among the Turks. In those gloomy days the eyes of Europe turned toward him; and while Europe trembled, Hunyadi calmly and deliberately prepared to meet the invaders.

The fortress of Belgrade was the gate to Hungary; and the Sultan wanted to obtain possession of that

fortress. For this purpose he marched an army of 150,000 men to the vicinity of that stronghold.

There the Turkish and Hungarian armies met. To oppose the Turkish army of 150,000, Hunyadi had an army of only about 15,000 men. However, a Franciscan monk, John Sapistrano, with his magic eloquence, went about Hungary, preaching a crusade against the Turks. Thus an army of 60,000 was raised. Armed with only scythes and pole-axes and led by the sound of bells instead of verbal commands, the Hungarians fell upon the Turkish army with marvelous courage. The struggle for the possession of the fortress began and a fierce battle ensued.

The Turkish guns roared and hurled their shots upon Belgrade for eight days and nights. On the ninth day the Turkish army began a general assault upon the fortress. The assaults were renewed three times and as many times repulsed. The defenders of the fortress, however, began to show sign of weakness; all seemed to be lost. But John Hunyadi, the terror of the Turks, was there. He ordered the fascines to be soaked with oil and pitch and then hurled against the storming Turks. At the same time he attacked the Turks along the whole line. The Turks became confused, frightened, and dismayed, and with their commander fled in great disorder, leaving under the walls of Belgrade 40,000 killed and 300 cannon.

So great was the defeat of the Turks that they did not return to Hungary until after sixty years had elapsed. Europe and Christian civilization were saved again at the expense of Hungarian blood.

Although the battle was won, the Hungarians suffered a great loss. John Hunyadi, the great hero of that age, suddenly died. All Europe shared in the grief of the Hungarians in the loss of that great man. Even the Sultan, the inveterate enemy of the dead hero, expressed

grief at his death, acknowledging him to be the ablest general in Europe.

This great loss to the Hungarians was mitigated by the fact that Hunyadi had left a son, Matthias. At the age of fifteen, young Matthias was elected King of Hungary.

King Matthias was one of the greatest kings of Hungary. Although left an orphan at a tender age and assuming the kingly role before he could complete his education, he became a distinguished soldier and a learned and wise ruler. He was the friend of arts and education. Expending fabulous amounts of money, he encouraged the learning of all the arts and sciences. At his palace he employed thirty transcribers and painters, and gave employment to Florentine and Venetian copyists and painters. In this manner he collected and established a library and an art gallery which became famous in Europe. His palace became the meeting place of foreign ambassadors and learned men. In short, he was the marvel of his age.

In meting out justice he was without an equal. History has seldom produced a man or king the like of Matthias. To learn at first hand, how the people were treated by their superiors, King Matthias frequently toured the country in disguise and mixed with the people whose rights he wanted to safeguard. Frequently he was ridiculed for his quaint dress or urbane manners, which he enjoyed good naturedly. To "turn the joke" on his ridiculers, he frequently made himself known to the amazement and surprise of those about him. It is recorded of him, that he was severe to those who mistreated the people and extremely considerate of the ill-treated. Even at this date, it is the common axiom in Hungary, that "King Matthias is dead and justice is no more."

But collecting masterpieces of arts, encouraging learning and administering justice were not the only things

Matthias had to do. At that period Hungary was surrounded by many troubles and enemies, though her name was honored everywhere. The greatest danger, however, was the Turkish army. In 1485, the Turks advanced as far as Vienna and laid siege against that city, Europe again was in grave danger of a Turkish invasion.

Hungary was once more called upon to check the Turkish drive and save European Christianity and western civilization. Europe again stood in awe and mortal fear of the powerful Turkish army. The eyes of Europe once more were trained upon the Hungarian Nation. The Hungarian army was expected to save Europe once more from Turkish domination, and the Hungarian army again measured up fully to the occasion.

King Matthias was a skilled and brave soldier. He led the Hungarian army against the Turks. His army was no match for the Turkish army; but that bothered him the least. His brain was mightier than the Turkish sword. He frequently walked around the walls of the city and inspected the opposing army. In disguise he entered the Turkish camp and made his way to the tent of the Sultan, and there he sat selling provisions and spying all day. After he had learned all he wanted he returned to the Hungarian camp and sent the following note to the Sultan: "Thou guardest thy camp badly, emperor, and thou art thyself badly guarded. For yesterday I sat, even from morning until night, near thy tent selling provisions. And lest thou doubtest my word, I will tell thee now what was served on thy table." Upon reading the note, the Sultan became frightened and, together with his army, left the neighborhood. Europe was saved again by the Hungarian army and by King Matthias.

At the zenith of his glorious career, and when Hungary enjoyed her greatest prosperity and the respect of all Europe, the great King Matthias died on April 6, 1490. In him Hungary lost a great king and with his lifeless body the glory of the Hungarian Nation was buried.

V.

THE DISASTER OF MOHACS

The death of King Matthias was the sunset of the independence of Hungary. She now became a victim of exploitation by money changers and a bone of contention among foreign princes. Both these had eaten themselves into the Hungarian Nation like a cancer and were rapidly destroying her vitality. The condition of all classes became wretched. The Fugger family, "the Rothschilds of the sixteenth century," were exploiting the country and were "fraudulently" exporting all the gold and silver obtained from the mines of Hungary. The treasurer of the State, a converted Jew, named Szerencs, mulcted the treasury so much, that the king was not left enough to purchase a pair of boots. "King Louis remained so poor that at a reception given to the ambassadors of foreign powers, where the most brilliant display would have been in place, the young king sat on his throne in dilapidated boots."

The Hungarians finally resorted to arms to restore the country and to drive out the parasites; but in their effort they were obstructed by the constant attack of the Turks. Sultan Selim of Turkey swore that he would reduce Hungary to ashes, and the Hungarians were compelled to meet once more that formidable enemy. Before they were able to restore order within the country, they had to fight to save it from the new Turkish invasion.

The Turks attacked the Hungarians at Shabatz and Belgrade, where the Turks had been defeated before. In face of the murderous assaults of the Turks the garrison of five hundred Hungarians was reduced to sixty. In-

stead of giving it up, these sixty men drew up in line on the square of the fortress and there they were murdered by the Turks. Six weeks later Belgrade was reduced to submission and the road to Hungary was cleared for the Turks.

The news of the fall of Belgrade caused a great confusion and consternation in Hungary. The meeting of the Diet was called to decide upon the next move and to prepare for the impending calamity. Although all of Europe and Christian civilization were in danger, the rest of Europe offered no aid to the Hungarians. There was nothing left for the Hungarians but to brave the battle and shed their blood in the defense of not only their own country but all of Europe and of Christian civilization.

While the Hungarians were discussing the impending invasion and the means of saving Hungary and Christian civilization, Solyman, the Turkish ruler, in the month of August, 1526, with an army of 300,000 men and 300 cannon, invaded Hungary.

The Hungarian army met the invaders with an army of 25,000 men in the plains of Mohács, and the battle began on August 29, 1526. The Hungarians fought with determined bravery; but the inevitable happened. The Hungarian army was defeated, and with that defeat the independence of Hungary was ended.

Hungary was razed to the ground by the victorious Turkish army. Pozsony, the capital of Hungary, was ransacked and its magnificent buildings were burned and destroyed. The famous library and collection of arts of King Matthias were destroyed. Elated by its success, the immense Turkish army spread all over the country, plundering, ravaging, and destroying everything in its way and killing thousands of defenseless people. The devastation and killing were carried on such a large scale that nearly 200,000 men, women and children were

massacred. The entire country was reduced to ruins. What valuables were left the Turks carried away from Hungary. "In October, 1526, Sultan Solyman left the doomed country, having first laden his ships, sailing for Constantinople, with the treasures of the Palace of King Matthias,—its rare curiosities, its bronze statues, and a portion of the famous Corvinian library."

VI.

THE SECOND STRUGGLE WITH THE TURKS

The history of Hungary is not a fairy tale but a reality of historical facts; nor is it a story depicting the heroic acts of imaginary heroes but a story of an actual national tragedy. The hero of this tragedy, the Hungarian Nation, is valiantly and continuously struggling against the enemy with alternating success. The hero now is murdered but springs into life anew and continues the struggle against the enemy. The super-human, the impossible, the miraculous happens. On one page of its history, the Hungarian Nation is found bleeding to death and apparently breathing its last. On the next page the same nation is found fighting with renewed energy against its would-be-assassin. The history of the human race has not produced another nation, except possibly the Irish, that has gone through as many vicissitudes and scaled as many seemingly unsurmountable difficulties, as has the Hungarian Nation. Their properties may have been burned, their possessions may have been confiscated, their liberties may have been taken from them, their bodies may have been killed, but the will to exist, the principles of democracy and the spirit of independence of the Hungarians no power has yet succeeded in destroying. This truth is fully evidenced by the struggles of the Hungarians throughout their national history.

Their country laid waste, their goods and treasures carried away, two hundred thousand of their brethren killed, the smoke of their burning homes having drifted away, the surviving Hungarians reorganized again to expel the Turks from the soil of Hungary.

The fatal catastrophe of Mohács, where the Hungarian army was defeated by the Turks, had caused consternation among those who survived. An internal strife ensued. The question was how to expel the Turks from Hungary. One party, holding to the belief that the Hungarians alone were too feeble to cope with the situation, sought the help of Austria. To obtain the support of that country, they elected archduke Ferdinand, a brother of Charles V., the Emperor of the Roman Empire, King of Hungary. Another party of Hungarians insisted that a Hungarian should be elected king of Hungary. A Hungarian, John Szapolyai, the ruler of Transylvania, was so elected. Thus Hungary had two kings at the same time.

Neither one of these kings, however, was able to assist the Hungarians in their plan to expel the Turks from Hungary. To regain the freedom of Hungary was left entirely to the Hungarians themselves: and the people again heroically rose to the height of the occasion. Menaced by enemies from all sides, torn by party strife, enfeebled, as they must have been, but not discouraged, the people of Hungary exhibited such rare moral courage, heroism, devotion, self-denial and manliness, that the memory of that generation will remain forever hallowed. Heroes sprang up on every side and performed marvelous feats. The patriotism and the loftiness of the souls of those heroes are of such magnificence that they, even at the present time, excite the admiration of the human heart.

Solyman, the Turkish ruler, not satisfied with having once devastated Hungary, in 1532 again marched toward Vienna. In his progress he was opposed by the fortress of Kösseg, which was the key to sixteen fortified fortresses near the Austrian borders. The fortress of Kösseg was garrisoned by twenty-eight cavalrymen and ten cuirassiers, commanded by Michael Juricsics. This brave commander resolved to hold the fortress and to die

rather than surrender it to the enemy. The Turks violently bombarded the outer fortifications and a breach, sixteen yards wide, was made in the walls of the city. The Turks demanded the surrender of the city; but the answer was that the garrison would rather die than surrender. Thereupon the Turks rushed into the city; but the people of the city broke into such a dreadful howling and wailing that the assailing Turks were frightened and ran out of the city. Thus, as if by miracle, the city was saved.

The Turks resumed their bombardment of the fortress and the city. Juricsics saw that there was no hope to hold out much longer; and to save the remaining inhabitants, he permitted the Turkish flag to be hoisted over the city. Seeing their flag floating over the city and believing that the city had capitulated, the Turks retired from its walls and hastened back toward Turkey. While the Turkish army was unsuccessfully bombarding the fortress of Köszege, Vienna was fortified and the Turks lacked the courage to attack that city. Thus, both Köszege and Vienna were saved.

George Szondi, another brave and determined hero, who was defending the fortress of Dregel, refused to yield so long as his breath held out. In July, 1522, a Turkish army of 10,000 men trained its guns upon the fortress of Dregel and fiercely bombarded it. When the fortress was reduced to ruins, Ali, the commander of the besieging army, sent a clergyman to Szondi with this message: "Ali reverently bows before Szondi's bravery and determined spirit—but as the position cannot hold out longer, Szondi ought to preserve his heroic life and surrender the crumbling fortress, and if this were done, free departure should be guaranteed for himself and his people."

Szondi refused to give up while alive. He sent to Ali two young boys and asked him to preserve their lives and make "brave men of them." Then he bestowed rich

gifts upon two Turkish captives who were kept in the fortress and then sent them to Ali. When these left, Szondi prepared for the last.

He did not have to wait long. The Turks thronged into the fortress. His foot was penetrated by a ball and he fell, fighting even from the ground. He was surrounded and killed by the Turks. His severed head was triumphantly carried to Ali who was deeply moved by the sight. The Turkish commander ordered the body of Szondi to be found and buried with military pomp.

Stephen Losonczy, the commander of Temesvár, was another hero who gloriously laid down his life for his country. The fortress was attacked by an army of fifty thousand Turks. The Hungarian army numbered 2,200. This handful of army thrust the Turkish army back three times; but thirty-six siege guns were pouring their shells into the fort. The Hungarian army was decimated. Losonczy needed more soldiers and ammunition. He wrote to his wife to sell or mortgage what property he had and with the money hire soldiers and purchase ammunition. His wife obeyed and sent five hundred soldiers and ammunition; but too late.

When the Turkish commander saw that the fort could not hold out much longer, he offered Losonczy and his men safe departure if he would capitulate. Upon request of the inhabitants of the city, he yielded and proceeded to evacuate the city. When outside the city he was greeted with military honors; but as he proceeded, he and his men were treacherously attacked from the rear. Losonczy was killed and his severed head was sent as a trophy to the Sultan.

The spirit of heroism remained undeterred among the Hungarians even during those gloomy days. The terrible danger steeled them to dauntless courage. At times it was impossible to determine who were the greatest heroes, for men and women fought with equal courage

and determination, and they accomplished marvelous feats.

At Eger an enormous Turkish army with 120 guns attacked a small Hungarian garrison which had only nine guns and nine gunners. The garrison was commanded by Stephen Dobo. The Turkish commander demanded that the Hungarians surrender; but they refused. The Turkish guns roared and hurled fifty pound shells into the fortress. Within the fortress a gun-powder magazine exploded, and the force of the explosion tore a wide gap in the walls of the city. The Turks rushed through the gaping wall; but they were repulsed. The wall was repaired. The Turks attacked with renewed energy and ferocity. All seemed to have been lost; nothing but death awaited the courageous defenders.

A miracle happened—what else may it be called? The fortress was saved by the courageous women of the city. In the supreme moment of danger, the women appeared on the scene. They grabbed the guns from the dead and rushed upon the enemy where his line was thickest. Others carried boiling water, oil and pitch and poured them upon the enemy. The Turks were bewildered and confused. "God was fighting on the side of the Hungarians, and who can fight against God?" With this belief in their minds, the Turks beat a retreat. The fortress was saved after a siege of thirty days.

All the heroes and heroines cannot be named; their marvelous feats and unexampled patriotism—for want of space—cannot be described. They—those men and women of Hungary—were all heroes.

Hardships, self-denials and superhuman struggle were their daily bread. The restoration of Hungary was the uppermost thought in their minds. "Give me liberty or give me death" was on the lips of every one. An independent Hungary, free from Turkish domination, was the goal that every Hungarian struggled to reach. The Spirit of Liberty could not be buried. It triumphed.

Such were the struggles of the Hungarians against the Turks for the period of one hundred forty-five years. At last, after the lapse of one hundred forty-five years, in the battle of Mohács, where the Hungarian army was first defeated by the Turks, the Turkish army was decisively defeated, and Hungary was freed from the Turkish yoke.

VII.

HOW HUNGARY CAME UNDER AUSTRIAN RULE

The continuous war against the Turks weakened Hungary to such an extent that her resisting power became too enfeebled to cope with the ever increasing aggression of the Turks. By the Turkish invasion Hungary was divided into three parts. The eastern part, Transylvania, remained independent in the sense that it had its own government; but it had to pay tribute to the Turks. The center of Hungary was under complete Turkish domination; while the western part of Hungary still remained a buffer between the Turks and Austria. Transylvania was not strong enough to give effective aid in a campaign to liberate Hungary. The Hungarians living in the western part, therefore, sought the aid of the Hapsburg dynasty of Austria, which was then reigning over the Roman Empire and was the most powerful ruling family in Europe. At first one party among the Hungarians elected a Hungarian as king, and another party elected Ferdinand of Austria, a brother of Charles, Emperor of the Roman Empire, as king of Hungary. Finally, the Austrian remained the only king of Hungary.

The Hungarians now centered their hope in the Hapsburg dynasty which at that time was the mightiest dynasty in Europe. The newly elected king, Ferdinand, assured the Hungarians that the Hapsburg family would support him and the Hungarians in regaining the independence of their country. He solemnly promised to respect the rights and liberties of the Hungarians and to uphold the constitution of Hungary; and that he

would live in Hungary and that the responsible positions in the government would be held by Hungarians only.

But the hopes of the Hungarians remained mere hopes and the promise of Ferdinand remained a promise. The Turks vehemently opposed the election of Ferdinand, on the ground that the extension of the power of the Hapsburg dynasty was objectionable to them. Thus, at the very beginning of the Hapsburg rule, Hungary was divided into three parts. Transylvania, independent but under Turkish suzerainty; the Alföld (Lowland) under Turkish control; and the western part under Austrian rule.

Transsylvania was in the most favorable condition. She was permitted by the Turks to govern herself under the old Hungarian constitution and laws and elect her own rulers. Aside from paying an annual tribute to the Turks, Transylvania enjoyed a comparative independence. It was Transylvania that afterward played a heroic role in preserving the Hungarian constitution and laws and in aiding in the struggle for the restoration of Hungary.

The Alföld (Lowland) was under the absolute control of the Turks and was governed in Turkish fashion. The Turks did not settle in Hungary; they merely exploited her. Their only aim and purpose in Hungary was to extort money from the Hungarians, and to that extent all possible means of extortion were used. The inevitable result was that the culture of the Hungarians pitifully perished, the population gradually decreased and the fertile soil was reduced to a barren wilderness.

The western part of Hungary which was under the rule of the Hapsburgs, was not any better off. King Ferdinand and the Hapsburg dynasty failed to keep their promise. The king did not live in Hungary; did not respect the rights and liberties of the Hungarians; did not preserve and respect the constitution of Hungary; nor did his family aid the Hungarians to restore

Hungary. On the other hand, the Hapsburgs looked upon Hungary as a mere province. The country was flooded with foreign soldiers who spread terror among the Hungarians. Constitutional rights were disregarded and trampled upon. When they protested against these unlawful acts and indignities, the Hungarians were arrested and executed without trial.

It was evident that the Hapsburgs intended to deprive Hungary of her independence and to end her national existence. This evidence became unmistakable when Maximilian, the successor of Ferdinand, definitely promised Germany, that he would annex Hungary to that country. The plight of the Hungarians under the Hapsburg rule became so bad that in 1567 the Diet declared that "there is no salvation, no hope for us; we have no other alternative but to leave our native land and emigrate to foreign countries."

This bitter complaint was not mere rhetoric; it was the statement of an indisputable fact. The Hungarians were not able to fight alone successfully to drive out the Turks. To submit to Turkish domination would have meant the utter annihilation of Hungary; and to submit to Austrian rule meant the ultimate destruction of the independent national existence of the Hungarian people. Thus, the Hungarians were between two evils, each of which was equally baneful to the interest of Hungary. To accept Turkish domination was out of question. Therefore, the Hapsburg dynasty, which was considered the lesser of the two evils, was chosen. There was no alternative, except to submit to national death, or to emigrate to a more hospitable country.

The Austrian rule in Hungary was marked by two outstanding crimes: the one was a relentless religious persecution and the other a systematic political persecution. Both crimes had one common aim,—the killing of the Hungarian Nation.

Ever since they embraced the Christian religion

(1000 A. D.), the Hungarians faithfully adhered to the Christian Church. They retained and preserved their democratic principles; and the Spirit of Liberty reigned supreme in their hearts. When, however, Martin Luther began his movement of Reformation, many Hungarians accepted the principles advocated by him and by Calvin.

The Reformation was not merely a religious movement, in the modern meaning of the term; it was a politico-religious movement. The advocacy of freedom of thought was directed against the then existing absolutism, political and religious. It was, therefore, natural and logical for the Hungarians to welcome the principles of the Reformation movement and, under its banners, continue their struggle against the oppressive absolutism of the Hapsburg dynasty.

To break the spirit of resistance of the Hungarians and to eradicate, root and branch, Protestantism from Hungary, the Hapsburgs inaugurated a campaign of merciless persecution of the Protestants. To the Protestants the right to worship was denied. Their churches were confiscated. Under the guise of religion, the Hapsburgs refrained from no cruelty to subdue the Hungarians and to repress their democratic tendencies. *It was clear to both Protestants and Catholics that the persecution of the Hungarian Protestants was aimed at the complete submission of all the Hungarians, whether they were Protestants or Catholics.*

These wholesale and cruel persecutions were not left unresented by the Hungarians. In 1604, the Hungarian Diet (Congress) met and vigorously protested against the horrible repression of the Protestants; but the Hapsburgs continued the persecution until there was left hardly any one to persecute.

The avowed purpose of the Hapsburg dynasty was "to reduce Hungary first to beggary, then to make her German and then Catholic." ("Faciam Hungariam prius

mendicam, dein Germanam, postea Catholicam.") The apparent solicitude of the reigning family to perpetuate the Roman Catholic religion in Hungary was not, however, prompted by religious considerations. It was merely a cold-blooded method of reducing Hungary to submission. When the Protestants were forced to comply with the will of the ruling family, the mask was thrown off, and the independence and national existence of the Hungarian Nation was attacked with full vigor.

The Hapsburg dynasty clearly showed its purpose with reference to Hungary. In 1633 the Turks moved toward the frontiers of Austria, ready to attack the Hapsburgs. The imperial army defeated the Turks and thereby an opportunity loomed up to free central Hungary from Turkish domination. But freeing Hungary in that fashion would have meant that the Hapsburgs would have to deal with an independent country, having its own laws and constitution. That the Hapsburgs would not do. They preferred to permit a large part of Hungary to remain under Turkish control for the time being and then reconquer the country and dispose of it as a conquered territory, thus eliminating any and all difficulties raised by her constitution. With that plan in mind, the Hapsburgs concluded a peace treaty with the Turks and, without consulting the Hungarians, agreed that the Turks should hold all the Hungarian territory previously conquered by them.

The Hungarians now were convinced that they had nothing to gain from the Hapsburg dynasty and it was evident that the independence of Hungary and her constitution were doomed to inevitable death. The Catholics of the country now took the lead and began to organize a movement to drive the Hapsburgs out of Hungary. Their plan, however, was discovered and their leaders were arrested and, without a trial, to which they were entitled under Hungarian laws, they were executed and their properties were confiscated.

The Hapsburgs were not satisfied with punishing the leaders of the movement to rid Hungary of her oppressors; they punished all the Hungarians under Hapsburg control. Exorbitant taxes were imposed upon the people, without convoking the Diet. Foreign soldiers were sent into the country to enforce the payment of the taxes so illegally levied. And in 1673 the constitution of Hungary was abolished and the country was reduced to a province, a dependency of Austria; while, in 1687, the right to elect a king was abolished and the right, guaranteed in the Bill of right (Golden Bull) (1222), to resist with arm any illegal act of the king, without incurring the penalty of treason, was also abolished. Every effort was put forth to crush the national spirit in Hungary.

But the Hungarians refused to brook any further attempt on the part of the Hapsburgs to annihilate the Hungarian Nation. Under the leadership of Francis Rákóczi, the Second, in 1703, they unfurled the flag of rebellion, bearing the inscription "pro patria et libertate," for the country and liberty. Transylvania joined the movement and soon the entire country was in arms. The Hapsburgs, in 1707, were dethroned and the independence of Transylvania and Hungary was proclaimed.

The struggle lasted about eight years, and finally the Hungarians were defeated by the forces of the king, Joseph I. In this instance the king did not follow the example of his predecessors; but he put forth an effort to reconcile the Hungarians. Instead of decapitating the leaders of the rebellion, the king granted a general amnesty. He made an earnest attempt to govern the Hungarians according to their constitution, and in 1711, in a treaty concluded at Szatmár, Hungary was granted constitutional and religious liberty.

With the return to the constitution there was now one important duty to be performed: to free that part of Hungary which was still under the domination of the

Turks. That was accomplished in 1718, when the Sultan of Turkey relinquished to the Hungarian crown all the territory which the Turks had conquered 145 years previously. Thus, after a century and a half of continuous struggle, the sun of independence began to cast its rays of hope once more over the Hungarians.

The Turks left that portion of Hungary, which they had controlled, in a ruined and devastated condition. The population had shrunk to a low ebb. Only a few villages could be found here and there. The once fertile soil was covered by endless swamps. The entire country had the appearance of a wilderness.

The great task now was to repopulate the country. That task was performed with precision and well planned method. Colonization was encouraged. The Alföld (Lowland), the special home of the Hungarians, was particularly depopulated, therefore, colonization in that part of the country was carried on with great zeal. The Slavs from Upper Hungary, the Servians from the South and a large number of Germans from the West were flocking onto the great plain, and soon numerous villages sprung up all over the Alföld. The government favored the settlement by the Germans, because a large number of German settlers would eventually be of great help in Germanizing all of Hungary. The settlers, however, on the whole, were assimilated and became members of the Hungarian Nation. "The work, hard as it was, was done. For a century and a half the severe task of colonizing and civilizing had been going on bravely, until finally the tract of land which they recovered from the Turks, an uninhabited desert, had grown to be populous, flourishing, and one of the richest granaries of Europe."

The restoration of Hungary was followed by great changes by means of legislation. The principle of "no taxation without representation" was put into effect. Taxes could be levied only with the consent of the Diet.

By the so-called "Pragmatic Sanction" of 1723, Hungary was declared an independent country, united to Austria only through the person of the king. The king was to be always of the Hapsburg dynasty in regular succession in the male and female lines. But Hungary was to remain independent and was to be governed by her own laws.

But promises and agreements were not made by kings of the Hapsburg dynasty to be *kept*. Accordingly, the promises and agreements that Hungary should be governed constitutionally were forgotten as soon as made. *According to the law of Hungary, the king must swear fidelity to the Hungarian people and solemnly promise to rule within the limitations of the constitution.* In 1780 Joseph II refused to take the oath of fidelity, but governed the country according to his own inclination.

Joseph II ruled as an absolute monarch. He did not convoke the Diet but governed by royal interdicts. What he wanted, he commanded the people to do. He commanded that the official language of Hungary should be German. It was his purpose thoroughly to Germanize Hungary. Constitutional rights and privileges he refused to recognize. In short, he was in fact and practice an absolute monarch, and his words were the law of the land. However, in fairness to him, it may be stated that he established the law of religious freedom and the law of toleration as to bondmen.

In his long series of illegal acts, Joseph II met with a determined opposition. Before he died, he revoked all his illegal acts, except the law of religious freedom and toleration as to the bondmen, and restored the old constitution. But before he could convoke the Diet, he died on February 20, 1790.

His successor, Leopold II, showed signs of willingness to rule within the limitations of the constitution. He had himself crowned, (1790) swore fidelity to the Hungarian people and solemnly promised to respect the laws

and constitution of Hungary. It was then repeated and enacted into law, that Hungary was an independent country; that she was subject to no other country; and that she had her own constitution by which alone she was to be governed. Religious liberty in Hungary was again proclaimed and the urgent needs of the peasantry remedied.

These laws were by no means the result of a sudden change of heart in the Hapsburgs. The Hungarians ceaselessly struggled to obtain those laws. Besides, the atmosphere in Europe was becoming charged with a revolutionary current. In every country of Europe the oppressed people were clamorously demanding radical changes in the form of governments. The French people touched the button and Europe immediately was enveloped in a revolutionary storm of unprecedented magnitude. Like a thunderbolt, the great principles of "Freedom and Equality" were hurled into the frightened camp of the absolute rulers of Europe. The very air trembled at the mighty force of outraged humanity, and the absolute monarchies trembled to their very foundations. The mighty current reached Hungary also and her destinies were shaped by the events resulting from the revolutionary conflagration in Europe.

VIII.

THE INFLUENCE AND EFFECT OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION UPON HUNGARY

The French Revolution was a protest against the old absolute monarchical system of government and the social system then existing throughout Europe. Both the government and society were corrupt and iniquitous, and both were overturned by the revolution. The success of the revolution was a warning to the adherents of the old system of government and society, that the peoples of Europe were about to assert their own sovereignty and sweep from the face of the continent every obstacle in the way of the new movement. The absolute form of government and the social system thriving thereunder were doomed to extinction.

The root of the French Revolution existed in nearly every country in Europe, and its effects were felt everywhere on that continent. "Men had begun to overhaul the whole body of tradition in State, church and society, and to examine their institutional inheritance from the point of view of common sense. Reason was to be the rule of life. This gospel of philosophers spread from end to end of Europe. They opened fire upon everything that ran counter to reason and science, upon tolerance of the church, upon privileges of the nobility, upon the abuse of the royal power, upon the viciousness of criminal justice, upon oppression of the peasantry, and a hundred other things."*

The spirit of the French Revolution pervaded Hungary also. The democratic ideas proclaimed by the French were re-echoed among the intelligent element of the Hun-

*Schwills' "Political History of Modern Europe," pp. 350-351.

garians. The success of the revolutionists was enthusiastically greeted in Hungary, and the people celebrated them by bonfires and by erecting liberty poles. University professors joined the students and the people in the celebrations. Following the example of the French revolutionists, one Ignatius Martinovich, a learned Hungarian abbot, organized in Hungary a secret organization which was spreading throughout Hungary the doctrines of democracy.

The Hapsburgs at Vienna became alarmed. King Francis I took vigorous steps and resorted to the strongest measure to prevent the Hungarians from being imbued with the idea of the French Revolution. The leaders of the secret organizations were arrested, some of them were beheaded, others were thrown into prison. The press was curbed. The schools were enjoined from teaching the modern ideas, and everything referring to the sovereignty of the people was expunged from the school books. Professors of liberal tendencies were forced to vacate their chairs. A rigid system of espionage was maintained and everybody was considered with suspicion. No one knew when and for what reason he might be arrested. A reign of terror ensued. No one was safe. Finally, all the advocates of reform were silenced, and absolutism and reaction reigned supreme.

The French Revolution gave birth to Napoleon Bonaparte who transformed the revolution into imperialistic conquest. The crowned heads of Europe, who were not yet under his control, arrayed themselves against him, and finally defeated him at Waterloo. The victorious monarchs then gathered in Vienna and there held a peace conference known as the Congress of Vienna.

IX.

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

The root of many troubles in Europe was planted by the Congress of Vienna. The international crime committed by that Congress has revenged itself upon all the succeeding generations, including even our own. The utter disrespect for human rights, the cynical contempt for national aspirations and the complete disregard for territorial integrity unmistakably shown by the Congress of Vienna are the basis of many national ills in Europe, which finally culminated in the terrible World War. Therefore, to understand thoroughly and to appreciate fully the subsequent plights and history of the Hungarian Nation, it is necessary to examine into the nature, the work, and conclusions reached by the Congress of Vienna.

When the first French Revolution (1789) broke out, all Europe was groaning under the iniquitous absolute monarchical system of government. Louis XV of France, without fear of contradiction, made the statement that "In my person resides the sovereign authority. I hold the legislative power and share it with none. The entire public life is sustained by me."* The ruler was the legislature, the government and the State. The people were nothing but "subjects," veritable means of exploitation for the monarchs and their hirelings. It was that condition which the French Revolution aimed to eliminate.

The Revolution gave birth to Napoleon Bonaparte who, after the success of the Revolution, undertook to free all

*Quoted in Schwill's Political History of Modern Europe, p. 345.

of Europe from the shackles of the absolute monarchical form of governments. He dreamed of a world empire and had almost succeeded in creating it. By the sway of his sword, boundaries were erased, old dynasties toppled over, and new boundaries and new rulers, new ideas and new governments came into being. Old monarchistic Europe was shaken even to her foundation. The old but rotten monarchical system of government was doomed to annihilation.

In their hour of danger, the four monarchies, Prussia, Russia, Austria and England, joined their forces and spectacularly defeated Napoleon. Then it was (September, 1814, to June, 1815) that these "Great Powers" gathered at Vienna and held the notorious peace conference known as the Congress of Vienna.

The Congress of Vienna was a gathering of the emperors of Austria and Russia, the kings of Prussia, Bavaria, Württemberg, Denmark, a motley crowd of princes and all the diplomats of Europe, Metternich of Austria and Talleyrand of France included. All the powers, except Turkey, were represented.

In order to understand fully the motives which actuated the members of the Congress and to see the reasons for the result reached thereby, it is necessary to "get acquainted" with the members of the Congress of Vienna.

Francis I, Emperor of Austria, was an absolute monarch. "His mind was commonplace and even mean." His caliber is signally indicated by his utterances and acts. In 1821 to a group of professors who were summoned before him to receive instructions as to what they might or might not teach, he said: "Keep yourselves to what is old, for that is good; if our ancestors have proved it to be good, why should not we do as they did? New ideas are coming forward of which I do not approve. Mis-trust these ideas and keep to the positive. *I have no need of learned men. I want faithful subjects.* Be such: that

is your duty. He who would serve me must do what I command. He who cannot do this, or who comes full of new ideas, may go his way. If he does not, I shall send him."*

The word "constitution" was especially objectionable to him. "The whole world is mad and wants a new constitution," he exclaimed.† And when suffering from an acute disease, he was told by his physician that his "lucky constitution" would overcome his ailments, Francis I vehemently reprimanded the physician: "I do not want to hear that word constitution any more. You may say to me, that my natural resistance—or if you choose—my good system, but don't you dare to speak of constitution to me."‡

Alexander I, Emperor of Russia, was then the most powerful absolute monarch in Europe. He was "young, imaginative, impressionable"§ and an idealist. He wanted a complete reform of the whole world and the abolition of all wars. This "blessed change," however, was to be brought about not by the people or their representatives, but by the absolute monarchs, led by himself. He was unfriendly to democratic ideas. To a Genoese deputation he said: "Republics are no longer fashionable." With all his shortcoming as an absolute monarch, however, he was looked upon by the people of Europe as the "White Angel" of the conference. But like other "white angels" of his type, at the conference "he mistrusted his environment and let himself be led by others."||

Frederick William III, King of Prussia, was also an absolute ruler, "slow, timid, conceiving government in a

*Quoted in Hazen's "Europe Since 1815," p. 19.

†Ibid, p. 19.

‡Quoted in Szalay-Baroti's "A Magyar Nemzet Története"—History of the Hungarian Nation, Vol. 4, p. 356.

§Hazen's "Europe Since 1815," p. 19.

||Quoted in Dr. E. J. Dillon's "The Inside Story of the Peace Conference," p. 17.

parental, patriarchal sense." He was "a weak ruler" and drifted along with the currents of the age. Like all the other absolute monarchs, he distrusted innovations and was inimical to democratic ideas.

Talleyrand, the diplomat of France, was a "supple" and unprincipled tool of the French monarchists.

Metternich, the Chancellor of Austria, was an able but unscrupulous diplomat. He was an active advocate of the old absolute monarchical system of government, and, as such, developed to be the most effective executor of the mandates of absolutism. After the Congress of Vienna, all Europe had to reckon with him and with his tireless efforts in behalf of absolutism. In the history of Europe, the phrases, the "era of Metternich," the "system of Metternich" are frequently met. A French writer speaks of him as the "prince of diplomats, without a peer in his age or his style, who deserved to govern Europe as long as Europe deserved to be governed by diplomacy. The great comedy of the world, the high intriguing of the European stage, has never had so fertile an author, an actor so consummate."^{*}

It was that Metternich, a man of high self-esteem, the cruel executor of the mandates of the absolute monarchs, the man who tried to kill the democratic tendency of his age by imprisoning and executing the advocates thereof—it was that Metternich, who, after the wrongs inflicted upon Europe by the Congress of Vienna revenged themselves in Europe in 1848, said in London whither he fled: "My mind never entertained error."

Such were the characters and calibers of the chief actors of the Congress of Vienna, in whose hands was held the destiny of Europe and the fate of millions of people.

The Congress was a gay affair. While millions of people were actually starving, the emperors, kings, princes, and diplomats were living in splendor and en-

*Quoted in Hazen's "Europe Since 1815," p. 20.

joying all the amusements and entertainments that could be provided. Francis, Emperor of Austria, invited to Budapest (Hungary) Alexander, the Czar of Russia, and Frederick William III, King of Prussia. In honor of the distinguished guests, Budapest and the river Danube were gorgeously illuminated. For days, each day dancing was the order of the hour. "The festivities were so splendid that according to Alexander Kisfaludy, in every respect, it excelled those held in Vienna."* "It has been estimated that this Congress cost Austria about sixteen million dollars, spent for pageantry and amusements, and this when the State was virtually bankrupt."†

The Congress of Vienna was governed by the thought, that "the spoils belong to the victors." The ultimate purpose of each sovereign was to grab as much land and to bring under his control as many people as he could. It was a bargaining affair. Without consulting the people whose rights and future were affected, peoples, nations and territories were placed on the bargain table. The monarchs wanted large territories and millions of people to rule over, from whom taxes could be collected. "This welter of bargain and agreements" continued for the period of eight months, and the outcome of it was an outrageous dismemberment of the territory of Europe and the segregation, division and classification of the people as if they were nothing but helpless dumb animals.

The Emperor of Russia, the "White Angel" and the "Universal Savior," demanded his share of the spoil, and he received a substantial portion thereof. Finland, formerly a part of Sweden, Bessarabia, "snatched from the Turks," other Turkish territories, and also most of Poland were given to him. What the wishes, desires, interests or ambition of the peoples living in those terri-

*Szalay Baroti's "A Magyar Nemzet Története," Vol. 4, p. 355.

†Hazen's "Europe Since 1815," p. 4.

tories were was of no concern to the Congress. The Emperor of Russia wanted them and that settled the matter.

France was shorn of power and territory; but was given an absolute monarchical form of government and a king. By the stroke of the pen, not only the territorial but also the moral and democratic gains of the French Revolution were nullified.

Italy was pitifully cut into pieces and divided into several territories. Lombardy and Venitia, the richest and in the military sense the strongest provinces of Italy were given to Austria. The Duchy of Parma was given to Marie Louise, wife of Napoleon, an Austrian princess. The Papal States were re-established. In short, Italy was reduced to a mere "geographical expression." Austria's influence over Italy became dominating.

Prussia received her share of the territories at the disposal of the Congress. Posen and Cracow of Poland, two-fifths of Saxony, extensive territories along both banks of the Rhine. Pomerania, formerly a part of Sweden, were added to Prussia. Neither the Germans, nor the people of the other territories were asked whether they wanted to be "subjects" of the Prussian King. The Germans were classified as "whole souls" and "half souls" and were disposed of accordingly.

England, "the builder of repeated coalitions, the pay-mistress of the Allies for many years" was "compensated" to her full satisfaction. In addition to territories conquered from France and Holland, she occupied Heligoland in the North Sea, Malta and the Ionian Islands in the Mediterranean; Cape Colony in South Africa, Ceylon, Isle of France, Demerara, St. Lucia, Tobago and Trinidad. According to this catalogue of acquisition, England was well remunerated for her efforts at building "repeated coalitions" and for being "the pay mistress of the Allies."

The carving knife of the Congress cut deeply into the territory of Europe in other respects. Belgium was annexed to Holland. Norway was taken from Denmark and joined to Sweden. Switzerland was given three Cantons. Only the territories of Spain and Portugal were left untouched.

Austria, the hostess of the Congress, "profited greatly" by the bargain concluded in Vienna. She relinquished her former possessions in Southern Germany and Belgium, they being too far from Vienna. She was given a part of Poland, Northern Italy, known as the Lombardo Venetian Kingdom, comprising the larger and richer part of the Po Valley, the Illyrian provinces, a part of Tyrol and Salzburg. These acquisitions increased the strength of Austria and added about five million people of taxable "subjects." In addition to the foregoing, Austria obtained "an indirect control" over the Italian States. And the reason for this shifting of people and changing of boundary lines was not the welfare of the people directly concerned, but, as Metternich nonchalantly stated, "we (Austria) wished to establish our empire without there being any direct contact with France."

This soulless and arbitrary dismemberment of Europe was greeted with a ringing cry of protest from every corner of Europe. The French termed it "odious." The Germans vehemently denounced the Congress as an "annual cattle fair." The Italians were embittered and the Belgians vigorously resented being handled like dumb animals. The unanimous cry went up that the treaty concluded at Vienna must be "torn up when the propitious time should come." Born in iniquity, the treaty was so condemned that it could not endure for long.

In the face of this righteous indignation and loud protest, in vain did the "titled brokers" of the Congress utter their high sounding phrases, such as "the reconstruction of Europe," "the regeneration of the political

system of Europe," "a durable peace based upon a just division of power." The people were not deceived and their dissatisfaction could not be appeased. Millions of enslaved people cried for vengeance. Europe was left in the atmosphere of revolution.

As a sequence of the Congress of Vienna and as the result of the efforts of the Emperor of Russia, the "Holy Alliance" was formed. It was "HOLY" not because of its purpose but by reason of the "holy" language used in the document setting forth its nature. "The very holy and indivisible Trinity" was invoked. It recites the "sublime truths taught by the eternal religion of God," "The precepts of the Holy religion, the precepts of justice, charity and peace." These "were to guide the steps of the signatories as the sole means of establishing human institutions, and for remedying their imperfections." The signatories, the Emperors of Austria, Russia, and the King of Prussia, "conformably to the words of the Holy Scripture" will consider themselves as brothers and fellow citizens, "united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity."

The most important part of the Alliance was that each sovereign will lend aid and assistance to each other on all occasions and in all places, regarding themselves, in their relations to their subjects and to their armies, as fathers and families; for the three monarchs of Austria, Russia and Prussia were delegated by God to govern the people given to the three rulers." The "Holy Alliance," therefore, dwindled down to an alliance to protect one another in their possessions and against the aggression of their "subjects."*

The "Holy Alliance" was a corpse from the time it was formed. In its stead the "Quadruple Alliance" was formed by Russia, Prussia, Austria and England. The four Great Powers united "for the happiness of the

*Quoted from Hazen's "Europe Since 1815," p. 15.

world" and to suppress "the same revolutionary principles which convulsed France." "The four sovereigns" agreed to meet, "at fixed periods," "for the purpose of consulting upon their interests, or for the consideration of the measures which, at each of these periods, shall be considered the most salutary for the purpose and prosperity of nations and for the maintenance of the Peace of Europe." These four powers decided to control Europe in the interest of absolute monarchical government. Under the guidance and protection of this alliance, during the following eight years, Europe was terrorized, and the liberal element of the people was pitilessly persecuted. The henchman and soulless executor of the plan of the alliance was Metternich of Austria, until he was driven out of Austria in 1848.

The Congress of Vienna had failed to establish peace in Europe. Its failure was caused by its utter insincerity and its cruel violation of all human decency. The rights of the people were slighted. Their national aspirations were condemned. Their economic interests were disregarded. They were handled and shifted like cattle. Territories were cut into and apportioned among the "Great Powers" as chattels. Nothing but the wants of the monarchs were considered. The increase of their power and additions to their taxable "subjects" were the paramount purpose. Those monarchs then allied themselves to support one another in holding what they grabbed and to suppress any movement directed toward remedying the intolerable condition of millions of enslaved people. This grievous crime committed against the whole of Europe immediately cried out for revenge; and there could not be, and there was not, peace.

The condition created by the Congress of Vienna could not stand very long. Fifteen years later (1830), the Belgians rose in revolt and seceded from Holland. France again revolted. During the great decade of 1860

and 1870 Germany was unified and Italy was consolidated into one independent kingdom.

But the wounds cut and the sores left in Europe by the Congress of Vienna have never been healed thoroughly. Nor was, during the ensuing one hundred years, the proper remedy found to heal the sores. On the contrary, as decade after decade passed, those sores festered more and more, until an entirely new pathological condition resulted, which finally culminated in the disaster of 1914-1919.

X.

THE EFFECT OF THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA ON HUNGARY

The Congress of Vienna was held by the absolute monarchs of Europe for the benefit and the strengthening of absolutism throughout Europe. The interests and desires of the crowned heads were paramount. The rights of the people were not recognized; the people had no rights, so far as the Congress of Vienna was concerned. The ultimate purpose of the Congress was to strengthen the power and control of the absolute monarchs. And to insure this purpose, the Holy Alliance and later the Quadruple Alliance were formed. Every necessary preparation was made to suppress any and all movements to improve the miserable condition of the peoples in Europe.

The absolute monarchs came out of the Congress triumphantly. Each of them acquired large territories and millions of taxable and governable "subjects." The campaign of terror, under the protection of the Quadruple Alliance, now began its ruthless operation. Europe was in the throes of monarchical terror.

The Austrian monarchy was greatly strengthened territorially and by acquiring millions of new subjects. Under its control there were many nationalities, among whom were the Hungarians. To govern those heterogeneous nationalities and to suppress their national inclinations and economic interests, was an extremely hard task. The difficulty of the situation, however, was lessened by the Quadruple Alliance which was, in reality, an "insurance society" of the absolute monarchs to insure them against losing what territory they had "acquired"

and against any and all popular uprisings. Besides, the Austrian monarchs were well acquainted with the means and methods of suppression. "Divide et impera," (divide and then govern), was their first rule. The second rule was to use terror. To these rules were added promises which were invariably broken.

The Austrian Emperor, Francis I, who was a signatory of the Congress of Vienna, upon the urgent demands of the Hungarians, promised to rule Hungary according to her constitution and laws. But that was a promise only, and it was not fulfilled. Francis I did not even want to hear the word "constitution." As we have already seen, he considered it a sheer madness on the part of the people to want a "constitution." The word "constitution" was to him a nightmare; and hearing it pronounced, he fell into a mad rage and epileptic fit.

To suppress the national aspiration of the Hungarians and to frustrate their insistence upon the recognition of their constitution and laws, the Austrian emperor and his unprincipled henchman, Metternich, agreed that the Hungarians should be attacked by an indirect and also by a direct method. An underhanded agitation was begun among the Hungarians and settlers of other nationalities, inciting them against one another. The purpose of that method was to divide the people of Hungary and thus weaken their concerted resistance to the unconstitutional rule. It was further planned that, after Hungary was divided internally, she was to be ruled from Vienna with an iron hand.

In pursuance of that plan, the constitution of Hungary was suspended and the law-making body, the Diet, of that country was not convoked. A veritable campaign of terror was instituted in Hungary. A perfect spying system was spread all over the country. The right of free speech and the freedom of the press were suspended. The superintendence of education was transferred to Vienna, and a new system of education was devised.

Foreign books and newspapers were barred from the country, and everything relating to human freedom was expunged from the school books. In the colleges and universities the lectures were attended by spies. Everybody was under suspicion and those who were thought to be undesirable were thrown into filthy dungeons and summarily sentenced. Absolutism and terror reigned supreme.

Metternich, the master mind of absolutism and terror, had the power to imprison men of democratic tendencies; but he did not succeed in killing the spirit of democracy and constitutionalism. Although the Diet of Hungary had not been convoked since 1811, and, therefore, there was no national means of protesting against the flagrant violation of the constitution of Hungary and against the ruthless campaign of terror, the Counties of Hungary held meetings and passed resolutions of protests, which were despatched to the emperor at Vienna. The emperor answered by levying in Hungary an army of 35,000 men and taxes of 10,400,000 crowns—all this without authority by the Diet. The Counties refused both the levy of soldiers and taxes. The emperor found that the Hungarians would not yield to threats.

To break down the opposition, the emperor ordered John Nemeth, Minister of Justice, to institute criminal proceedings against the recalcitrant Hungarians; but the minister refused to act, informing the emperor, that there was no law in Hungary under which the people could be prosecuted for resisting the unconstitutional act of the emperor. However, Nemeth was compelled to prepare the indictment; but he left out of it the law under which it was drawn, for the reason that there was no such law. He boldly stated that those who wanted the indictment should find the law. The emperor was enraged at this boldness and threatened Nemeth. But Nemeth replied: "I know my life is in your majesty's

hand; but the laws of my country and the good name of my king are dearer to me than life."* In the face of this opposition the emperor was cowed and he agreed to convoke the Diet, the constitutional Assembly of Hungary.

On September 11, 1825, the Diet met at Pozsony. The legislature took a bold stand against the emperor and demanded that the constitution and laws of Hungary should be respected by the emperor and the rights of the people safeguarded. "Give unto the emperor his due and unto God his due, but also give the people all that belongs to them," was the principle that guided the members of the Diet. The emperor resisted at first, but finally yielded and again solemnly promised to rule Hungary according to her constitution and laws.

The Diet was in session for eleven months. While no innovation in the constitution and laws of the country was made, the old constitution and laws were reasserted and the emperor was forced to abide by them.

In the meantime the peoples all over Europe were oppressed and terrorized by the members of the Quadruple Alliance. Discontentment and bitter resentment were present everywhere. The atmosphere was charged with a revolutionary current. In July, 1830, a revolution broke out in Paris. It was followed by an uprising in Belgium and in Poland. Every indication showed that a new revolution was about to shake Europe to her very foundations. Absolutism was in danger again. The supremacy of the people of Europe was about to be reestablished.

The emperor of Austria feared that the revolution would spread to Hungary. In order to strengthen himself and his system of government, he convoked the Diet and had his successor, Ferdinand, crowned, (1830). In 1832 the Diet was called into session again; but the em-

*Quoted in Szalay-Baroti's "A Magyar Nemzet Története," Vol. 4, p. 363.

peror refused to accede to the demand that the unbearable conditions in Hungary be remedied. The success of the revolutionary movements in Europe, however, emboldened the Hungarians; while the situation of the emperor became more and more uneasy. The Diet boldly reasserted the sovereignty of the Hungarian people. The emperor remained obdurate and spurned all attempts to compel him to keep his promises and to rule constitutionally. When obstinacy failed, the emperor threatened to punish even the legislators for disobedience to him. Baron Julius Wesselényi, one of the magnates, retorted that while the emperor might have power over certain persons, "he does not control the legislature; for the emperor stands aside of and not above the Diet; the emperor did not give existence to the Diet and the Nation, but these gave existence to him."

This was notice to the emperor that Hungary could not everlastingly be suppressed at the will of the ruler. But the government of the emperor struck back by arresting and imprisoning Wesselényi. The issue was plain to both sides. Either the emperor must yield or else the constitution and laws of Hungary must perish. Both sides prepared for the impending struggle for supremacy. But Emperor Francis died and the intensity of the situation subsided for the time being.

Ferdinand V ascended the throne (1835), but no innovation was made in the government. He himself was sickly and had no will of his own.

The government was carried on chiefly by Metternich who by that time had terrorized all of Europe, and was the cause of several revolutions. He now obtained a free hand in the government and had planned to crush the last liberal tendency. "The new ruler ascended the throne and everything remains as of old," he declared. And then, with renewed energy, he continued his efforts to sweep from the face of Hungary the last vestige of

democratic principles and thus to strengthen the power of absolutism.

A ruthless reign of terror ensued. Wholesale arrests were made. Legislators and others of liberal tendencies were arrested and charged with high treason. The accused were denied the right of defending themselves against the charges. They were not permitted to face their accusers. In secret chambers, without a trial, the accused men were sentenced to imprisonment in filthy dungeons teeming with vermine, rats, and reptiles. The punishment was inhuman and worse than death; for most of the men thus imprisoned either became insane, or blind, or physical wrecks, or else died.

But by imprisoning the men the ideals of the nation could not be annihilated. During those years of terror, the sons of Hungary redoubled their energies and prepared for the final struggle between absolutism and democracy. A young man, Louis Kossuth, now arose and became the indefatigable advocate of democracy, and the marvelous leader of the Hungarians. Out of the portentous clouds of absolutism the sun of Liberty again cast its life giving rays upon Hungary, and once more the enslaved Hungarian Nation took the field in behalf of her liberty and constitution and offered the supreme sacrifice, the blood of her sons and daughters.

XI

THE SUPREME STRUGGLE OF 1848

“After so many misfortunes,
 “So many sanguine strife,
“Outraged, subdued, yet not broken,
 “Hungary still had life.”

—Szózat.

Amidst the many misfortunes and sanguine strifes, the Hungarians were, throughout their history, fortunate in that, during the hours of supreme dangers, an indomitable leader usually arose from their ranks. While the Hungarian leaders of reform were singled out and persecuted with fiendish vengeance by the Austrian government, young Louis Kossuth stepped forward, as if “ordained by God to breast the angry waves of encroaching despotism, and like another Washington, united the freemen of a hemisphere in the approaching struggle.”*

Born on April 27th, 1802, of parents in modest circumstances, and having completed his education by graduating from a law school, Louis Kossuth, the lawyer, first attracted the attention of his countrymen in 1831, when the Asiatic Cholera was raging in Hungary and taking its awful toll of human life. Unmindful of the safety of his own life, like an angel of mercy, Kossuth went from village to village, preparing and arranging comfort for the suffering thousands and alleviating the tortures of the horrible disease. And when the peasants, believing that the clergy, the landlords and the Jews had poisoned the water, causing the awful catastrophe, rose in rebellion and began to slaughter the objects of their

*Hadley's “Life of Louis Kossuth,” p. 49.

hatred, Kossuth again intervened and by his efforts the clergy and others were saved from the vengeance of the enraged peasants. These acts of sacrifice endeared him in the hearts of his countrymen and he was recognized as a rising leader. As the result of this recognition, in 1832 he was appointed to sit in the Diet in the place of an absent member.

Kossuth was recognized by the members of the Diet as a young man of exceptional ability. He was appointed to edit the proceedings of the Diet and to distribute the paper among the members and also among subscribers. In his reports, Kossuth gave a true account of the proceedings, showing in glowing words the tyrannic method of oppression used by the government of Vienna. And after the session of the Diet had ended, he was appointed to report the proceedings of the assemblies of the counties.

These reports were read by the Hungarians with devouring avidity; and the result was an unbounded national enthusiasm throughout the country. The government at Vienna became alarmed and ordered the publication suppressed. But Kossuth found another way of publishing his reports. He employed a number of men to make copies of his reports and mail them as manuscripts to the subscribers. The government, however, was bent upon preventing those reports from reaching the subscribers. To that end it secretly ordered that they be confiscated in the mail. When that order was discovered, the counties employed their police force to distribute the reports. The government of Vienna was blocked in its attempt to suppress the publication and distribution of the reports. Finally the government used its regular method of terror. On the morning of May 5th, 1837, between 4 and 5 o'clock, a large force of soldiers broke into Kossuth's home, dragged him from his bed, put him under arrest and threw him into a filthy dungeon.

Kossuth was kept in the dungeon for one month incommunicando; he was not allowed to speak to any one, not even to his parents. Finally, he was tried under various trumped up charges; but the government was unable to produce a single witness to prove them. It was, however, decreed in Vienna that Kossuth must be put out of the way. Therefore, although no charges could be substantiated against him, he was sentenced to imprisonment for three years.

The arrest and imprisonment of Kossuth caused bitter indignation throughout Hungary. Meetings of protest were held everywhere. Resolutions were adopted and sent to the government, demanding the immediate release of Kossuth and other political prisoners. The government remained obdurate; Kossuth was not set free.

The sentence to three years imprisonment was equivalent to a sentence of death; and the purpose of the government was to kill Kossuth by means of his imprisonment. The dungeon into which he was thrown was especially suited for that purpose. It was dark, teeming with rats and vermin; the air was suffocating and pestilential.

To increase the misery of his imprisonment, during the first year Kossuth was not allowed to read anything; but later he was permitted to read books "not on politics." He called for an English Grammar, a copy of Shakespeare's Tempest and of Walker's Dictionary. In his solitude he studied and mastered the English language so well that some years later he was able to address, in the English language, large audiences in England and the United States with remarkable effect.

In the meantime Vienna was bombarded with urgent demands to release Kossuth and other political prisoners; but the government refused to yield. The tyrannical system of the government, however, defeated its own purpose. The danger of war threatened Europe

and Austria; and Austria needed money and soldiers from Hungary. It was now dangerous for the government to levy taxes and soldiers without authority given by the Diet. To avoid a revolution, the emperor convoked the Diet in 1839; and the wheel of good fortune turned again in favor of the Hungarians.

The members of the Diet were specifically instructed by the Counties not to listen to the government and to grant nothing to it until Kossuth and the other political prisoners were released. The delegates acted upon their instruction in its every detail, and the government was forced to yield. On May 16, 1840, a general amnesty was granted, and after a captivity of three years Kossuth and the other political prisoners were freed, broken in health, but with rejuvenated spirit and enthusiasm.

His health regained, Kossuth became the editor of a newspaper, the "Pesti Hirlap." On every page of that paper and in glowing style, he demanded internal and political reform. His words were burning with enthusiasm and they were read with avidity throughout the land. In vain did the censor use his red pencil, striking out here and there words and sentences, attempting thereby to minimize the effects of the burning enthusiasm glowing on every page. "The charm of what Kossuth wrote was not contained in single words; it was an invisible, untoouchable—playful fairy, which furtively glanced from behind the censor, while he believed that he killed her charm."^{*}

Kossuth again became the object of hatred of the government at Vienna. It dared not suspend the publication of the newspaper which was edited by Kossuth; yet Kossuth had to be eliminated and his influence nullified somehow. There being no safer method to silence Kossuth, the owner of the newspaper was bribed to remove Kossuth from his editorial position. But it was too late;

*Quoted in Gracza's "Kossuth Lajos Élete," Life of Louis Kossuth, P. 35.

Kossuth could not be removed from his place in the hearts of his countrymen.

Immediately upon his removal from the editorship, Kossuth was showered with requests from the country over to publish a paper of his own. Yielding to this request, he applied to the government for a permit; but instead of a permit he was promised wealth and high position, provided he would refrain from his activities for reform. Kossuth refused the offer, and the government refused the permit.

The government now believed that Kossuth was rendered incapable of any further activities; but the Hungarian Nation believed and acted differently. At the very next election, with an overwhelming majority, Kossuth was elected a member of the Diet.

The Diet convened on November 17, 1847. The eyes of the Nation now were upon Kossuth. It was believed that the future of the country depended upon him. And Kossuth was equal to the occasion and also to the expectation of his countrymen.

Immediately upon the opening of the session of the Diet, Kossuth began his great work of reconstructing Hungary on the basis of her old constitution and laws. It was his purpose to change the imperial administration at Vienna and to liberate not only Hungary but also the other States within the Austrian Empire. To Hungary he desired the old constitution restored, and that a new constitution be given to the other nations within the empire. That Hungary must be freed was to him a settled point. But he equally demanded freedom for the other nations. Thenceforth, he demanded, there must not be a constitutional king and tyrannical emperor in one and the same person.

Hungary at that time was governed wholly and entirely from Vienna, and the Hungarians had no influence in the government. Aside from the extreme hardships suffered by the Hungarians as the result of the

ruthless persecutions by the Viennese government, a general stagnation of trade prevailed in Hungary. The National Bank of Hungary was considered unreliable and its notes were refused both in Hungary and Bohemia. To remedy that situation, a motion was introduced in the Diet to inquire into the causes of that situation. That motion was made on the 4th day of March, 1848, soon after the news of the French revolution reached Hungary. Kossuth rose to second the motion and then delivered a profound address which set forth the position of Hungary and which foreshadowed a revolution. In that speech Kossuth spoke that which every Hungarian felt, but which no one dared to utter.

Rising majestically, feeling intensely the gravity of the situation and, like a giant of old, braving the evident and unavoidable consequences, Kossuth began to speak with a "flaming tongue" and with determined conviction. All eyes were fastened upon him. It was Hungary that spoke; and the time to speak the truth had arrived. The truth was spoken, regardless of the stern consequences.

"I am happy," said he, "and grateful in seconding the motion, because I think it a fit opportunity to entreat you to be alive to the enormous responsibility of the times. It is true that Austria has embarrassed us long enough. But that is a secondary matter. What we ought to ask for is a budget of the Hungarian receipts and expenditures which have hitherto been mixed up with those of our neighbors. We ought to ask for a separate and independent financial board for Hungary; for unless we have this, the foreign government which rules us without our advice, is likely to embarrass our finances almost hopelessly. I cast a sorrowful look on the origin and development of the bureaucratic system of Vienna. It reared the fabric of its marvelous power on the ruins of the liberty of its neighbors; and recounting the consequences of its fatal mechanism, and perusing the book

of life, I prophesy it in the feeling of my truthful and faithful loyalty to the royal house, that the second founder of the house of Hapsburgs will be he who will reform the system of government on a constitutional basis, and reëstablish the throne of his house on the liberty of his people."

Referring to the successes of the French and other revolutions, Kossuth continued in even bolder language:

"Mighty thrones, supported by political sagacity and power, have been overthrown, and nations have fought for and won their liberty, which three months ago could not have dreamed of the proximity of such an event. But for three whole months we are compelled to roll the stone of Sisyphus incessantly and without avail. The curse of a stifling vapor weighs upon us,—a pestilential air sweeps over our country from the charnel house of the Viennese council of state, enervating our power, exciting a deadening effect upon our national spirit."

Continuing his speech with increased fervor, Kossuth recited that "the blighting influence" of the Viennese government checked the development of the natural resources of Hungary; that "the antagonism of the Viennese government to the "constitutional progress of Hungary" had not been reconciled and could not be reconciled unless either one or the other is abandoned; and that the Viennese government would eventually go so far as to cause the dissolution of the Austrian Empire and "entail on Hungary heavy sacrifices and interminable evil."*

In concluding his speech, Kossuth moved that the government of Vienna be notified in an "Address to the Throne" that Hungary demanded that the country be freed from feudalism and that serfdom be abolished, that the financial burdens of the state must be born by all who lived in the country; and that there should be a responsible ministry.

*Quoted in Hadley's "Life of Louis Kossuth," pp. 72-73.

The members of the Diet were spellbound. Not a word was uttered. When the vote was taken, the motion was carried unanimously. It was evident that a struggle was in sight between constitutionalism and despotism.

When the news of the resolution reached Vienna, Metternich and his advisers began at once to plan to dissolve the Diet and nullify the effect of the demand incorporated in the resolution. But before the plan could be put into effect, on March 13, 1848, a revolution broke out in Vienna and, to prevent a revolution in Hungary, a committee of the members of the Diet was invited to Vienna. Metternich, to the great satisfaction not only of the people of Vienna and Hungary, but also of entire Europe, hastily resigned and, disguising himself as a peasant, fled to England.

The Diet sent a deputation of seventy-two members to present its resolution to the emperor at Vienna. On March 14, 1848, this deputation, headed by Kossuth, sailed to Vienna. There they were greeted by thousands, and Kossuth made several inspiring speeches to them. The deputation was "graciously" received by the emperor and, there being no alternative, the demands enumerated in the resolution were granted.

On the same day that the deputation left for Vienna, (March 14, 1848), an occurrence of historical importance took place in Budapest. Young men, headed by Alexander Petöfy, Hungary's immortal poet, and others, held a meeting and decided to send to the Diet a petition which contained twelve demands: (1) liberty of the press and abolition of censorship, (2) a responsible ministry for Hungary, (3) meeting of parliament once every year, (4) equality before the law, regardless of religion, (5) national militia for Hungary, (6) equality in taxation, (7) trial by jury, (8) abolition of feudalism, (9) National Bank of Hungary, (10) the soldiers to take oath upon the constitution, and the Hungarian soldiers shall not be taken out of Hungary, but the foreign sol-

diers shall be removed from Hungary, (11) union with Transylvania, (12) amnesty for all political prisoners. "Let there then be peace, liberty and mutual understanding."

On the following day, March 15, those young men marched to a printing establishment, took possession of it and printed in thousands of copies the twelve demands under the heading, "What the Hungarian Nation Wants." At the same time the stirring poem, "Talpra Magyar" (Rise Magyar), written by Alexander Petöfy, was printed in thousands of copies. These copies then were read to and distributed among the people who were thronging the streets.

Petöfy went to the University and without any ceremony rushed into a class room and, to the amazement of the professor and students, he declaimed his burning poem:

"Rise Magyars, 'tis your country's call,
"Now is the time for one and all;
"Shall we be slaves? shall we be free?
"That's the question, now all agree
"By the Magyars' God above,
"We truly swear, we truly swear,
"The tyrant's yoke we will not bear."

"Slaves were we until this minute,
"Condemned were our great fathers; but
"They who lived and died free and brave,
"Cannot rest in slave trodden grave.
"By the Magyars' God above,
"We truly swear, we truly swear,
"The tyrant's yoke we will not bear," etc.

From class room to class room Petöfy went and declaimed his poem, thundering into the ears of the students and professors "Rise Magyars, 'tis your country's call." The professors and students caught the spirit of

the moment. They instinctively left their class rooms and assembled on the campus. There Petöfy repeated his poem with increasing zeal. Thence, the whole student body marched onto the streets and mingled with the people, repeating fervently::

“By the Magyars’ God above,
“We truly swear, we truly swear,
“The tyrant’s yoke we will not bear.”

Under the influence of the moment, the people demanded the freedom of the political prisoners. Their demand was granted by the representative of the emperor in Budapest. Thus, while Kossuth and the deputation were on their way to Vienna, the first step to liberate Hungary from the clutches of tyranny was taken. Hungary began to breathe like a nation freed from its shackles of slavery.

March 15, 1848, was a memorable day in the history of the Hungarian Nation. It is still celebrated by the Hungarians as the day of the liberation of Hungary from the tyrannical rule of Austria.

On March 17, 1848, Kossuth and the deputation returned to Hungary. The Diet immediately passed laws in conformity with the twelve demands presented to the Diet. The first ministry responsible to the Nation was established and its members were confirmed. Louis Kossuth was named as Minister of Finance.

Hardly had the ministry been formed, when the emperor and his advisers plotted to hamper the ministry by circumscribing its powers; but the plan did not succeed. The ministry began the performance of its duties and governed Hungary according to its constitution and laws.

The emperor and his advisers, however, could not brook the idea that Hungary should be freed. It was decided that a constitutional Hungary must not exist.

The precise method of reducing Hungary to her former status of servitude was to create an internal dissension among the various nationalities within the empire, and then to incite those nationalities to attack Hungary. It was the old system of "divide et impera," divide the people first and then rule them. That plan was pursued in 1848. It accomplished its purpose. The Slavic element of the empire was incited and persuaded to march into Hungary, when the Hungarians were the least prepared to resist a foreign invasion.

An army of undisciplined Servians marched into Hungary, burning and destroying everything in its way. In their cruelty to the defenseless populace, the Servians surpassed any savage people that ever existed on the face of this earth. "The inventive genius of cruelty among them surpassed the Satanic devices of Neronic persecution."

"They bored out the eyes of men, cut off their flesh in strips, roasted them alive on spits, and buried them up to their necks and thus left them to be eaten by crows and swine. Still more horrible, crying yet louder for heaven's vengeance, they ripped open women big with child, and trampled the fruit of the womb before the eyes of the dying mother."*

Such was the method used by the emperor of Austria in 1848 to prevent the Hungarians from gaining freedom for themselves and for the other nationalities within the Austrian Empire.

To check the advance of the beastly hordes and to drive them out of the country, an army was organized and sent against the invading Servian army. At the same time an urgent appeal was sent to the emperor to order his Servian hordes out of Hungary.

The Hungarian army defeated the Serbs, and then the emperor sent them an order to leave the Hungarian

*Hadley's "Life of Louis Kossuth," p. 91.

soil. But that order was issued with the distinct understanding that it was not to be obeyed. Therefore, the Serbs renewed their attack upon Hungary, and a state of war ensued. Jellachich, the commander of the Servians, was secretly encouraged by the Austrian emperor to continue his attack upon Hungary.

There was no other course left for Hungary except to make adequate preparation to cope with the situation. Speaking to the Diet, Kossuth dramatically recited the events and asked for an army of 200,000 men and the necessary money to equip the army. The members of the Diet rose like one man, and, raising their hands towards heaven, dramatically shouted: "Megadjuk! Megadjuk!" (We give it, we give it).

To avoid the conflict, however, Louis Batthyani, the president of the ministry, hastened to Vienna where Jellachich was in conference with the emperor. Batthyani requested Jellachich to name the reasons for his attack upon Hungary; but the Servian leader refused to enter into negotiation with Batthyani, unless the Hungarians were willing to "surrender the independence of Hungary."

The issue was made clear. The Hungarians must either yield and surrender their constitutional liberty, or else take up arms in defense of their constitution and laws. Naturally, they chose to retain their constitution and prepared to defend it with all the means at their disposal.

Kossuth called upon the Hungarians to rally around the Hungarian flag and to fight the invaders. In response to his appeals, from every part of the country the Hungarians hastened to heed the call of the country. "Gray and bearded men with youths in their minority gathered around the threatened constitution of Hungary, armed with whatever they could wield in the coming fight; scythes, hatchets and pikes were among the

equipment of an army too poor and in too great haste for better weapons.”*

Before the Hungarian army though poorly equipped but strengthened by the conviction that they were fighting for the holy cause of their country, the invaders fell back and cowardly ran toward the Austrian border. The enemy was routed and the Hungarians rejoiced. But the Austrian emperor appointed Jellachich, the commander of the fleeing army, as “Our Empowered Royal Commissary,” whose orders were to be obeyed by the ecclesiastical, military, and civil authorities of “our kingdom of Hungary, its dependents and Transylvania.”

This treacherous attitude of the emperor was repudiated by the people of Vienna. They rose in revolt and drove the emperor out of Vienna and afterward set up a provisional government. The call from the provisional government went to the Hungarians: “Will the Hungarians come?” The prompt answer of the Hungarians was: “As soon as desired by the Austrian Diet.” The cause of both people was the same,—their liberation from the treacherous dynasty of the Hapsburgs. The next day, October 25, 1848, the Hungarian army crossed the Austrian borders to help the Austrian people obtain their liberty.

Prince Windischgrätz, the commander of the imperial army of 70,000 trained men, now took the field to fight both Austria and Hungary. Then the war between the Austrian empire and Hungary began.

The imperial army distinguished itself in terrifying and murdering unarmed men, women and children. The Hapsburg dynasty was dishonorable in politics, and it was equally dishonorable in war. From the swords and scythes and even hatchets of the Hungarian soldiers, the imperial army fled in disgrace, but as against unarmed men, women and children it was outrageous. The de-

*Hadley's “Life of Louis Kossuth,” p. 123.

fenseless Hungarian men, women and children were forced to lie down on wet soil; if any of them dared to rise, he was unmercifully shot dead. They were robbed of their properties and the women were outraged. When relieved of their personal belongings, they were ordered to "march," and while marching, they were mowed down by bullets. Those who did not die were killed like dogs. Old men and women, young men and women, children and infants—all met the same fate. And to make these cruelties all the more horrible, the heads of infant children were torn from their necks in full sight of their fainting mothers.*

These horrors spurred the Hungarians to action. Kossuth toured the entire country, exhorting the people to join the Hungarian colors in defense of their country. The people rose as if by magic. The footsteps of Kossuth were followed by armies. "Everybody was happy who was able to join the militia. The rich and the poor, master and servant, the father and the son fought side by side. The churches delivered their tower bells to be made into cannon."†

The Hungarians fought with determination and finally defeated the enemy on April 11, 1849. Three days later (April 14), in the Reformed (Calvinist) Church at Debreczen, where the Diet assembled, Kossuth introduced the resolution, in which the Hapsburg dynasty was dethroned and Hungary was declared free and independent. The resolution was adopted and Kossuth was elected Governor of Hungary. On the 19th day of April, 1849, the Declaration of Independence of Hungary was proclaimed to the world.

At last the aspiration of the Hungarians was realized. Hungary was now free and independent; and the Hungarians were elated.

*Ibid, p. 114.

†Gracza's "Kossuth Lajos Elete" (Life of Louis Kossuth), p. 113.

But Europe was still in the grasp of the absolute monarchs. The Quadruple Alliance, which was organized for the purpose of protecting the crowned heads in their "possessions," was also still in existence. Under the treaty of the Alliance it was the duty of the members of the Alliance to aid one another in the event they were in danger of losing their possessions. Under the terms of that treaty, Francis Joseph I, who was now the emperor of Austria, appealed to the Czar of Russia for help. In response to that appeal, an army of 200,000 men invaded Hungary (June 14, 1849). In the face of such a great army of fresh troops, all hopes of retaining the independence of Hungary faded and the cause of Hungary was lost.

Kossuth now appealed to the "people of Europe," and virtually begged them to intervene and prevent the great catastrophe threatening Hungary. In his appeal he reminded the European governments that they were "the official guardians of the liberty of Europe." To the people he said: "Wake up to this horrible danger, when the armies of tyrants are united to destroy the holy gospel of liberty in the Netherlands, Italy and Hungary." To England he put the question: "Are you forgetting the principle of non-intervention which you had established?" Of France he asked: "Are you forgetting the principles which you proclaimed at your birth?"

"Wake up," he continued, "peoples and nations of free and Christian Europe! We are not the last in the line; the storm, unless you obstruct it, will eventually sweep you away also!"

"On the soil of Hungary the liberty of Europe will be decided. With Hungary, the liberty of the world will lose a liberty loving nation. We are struggling to make this land the land of liberty. Our defeat will be a shameful proof of the power of the associated tyrants, and a

sad example of how free peoples and nations are leaving one another unaided in the hour of danger."

The governments and peoples of Europe read the appeal; but offered no aid. Here and there sympathies were expressed for Hungary; but that was all. Hungary was left alone to be crushed by Russia.

It should be remembered, however, that there was one country which deeply sympathized with the Hungarians and was about to offer aid to them in their supreme struggle. That country was the United States of America. The government of the United States of America sent a representative to Hungary to learn whether or not the time had arrived to recognize the young republic. But it was too late. Hungary was crushed by Russia.

All further bravery and sacrifice of blood was in vain. Worn out, beragged and bleeding, the Hungarian army was no match for the 200,000 fresh troops Russia sent into Hungary. On August 13, 1849, at Világos, the Hungarian army surrendered to the Russians. The independence of Hungary was no more.

At Világos, the spirit of democracy was strangled and tyranny became triumphant. Hungary was thrown back again into the clutches of the Hapsburg dynasty.

Upon the capitulation of the Hungarian army, the triumphant emperor of the Austrian Empire set to work to wreak his vengeance upon the prostrate nation. On October 6, thirteen of the leaders of the revolution were executed. "With this, the long, dark night of governmental terror fell upon the orphaned Hungarian Nation."*

Kossuth himself, upon the urgent plea of his followers, escaped into Turkey, whence afterward he was sent to and interned in Asia Minor. In 1851, on the U. S. steamship Mississippi he was taken to England, and

*Gracza's "Kossuth Lajos Elete," etc., etc. (Life of Louis Kossuth), p. 156.

thence he came to the United States. Both in England and in the United States he addressed large audiences and stirred up a good deal of sympathy for the cause of Hungary. In the United States he was received with pomp and enthusiasm, the like of which was neither before nor since bestowed upon any foreigner. He never did return to Hungary, but settled and lived in Turin, Italy. During his life he exerted much effort to obtain the support of various nations of Europe to free Hungary; but he failed to liberate his "beloved Fatherland." It is said that during the Rebellion of the Southern States, upon the request of Secretary Seward, Kossuth exerted his influence, with success, to prevent England from recognizing the Southern Confederacy.* Kossuth died on March 20, 1894, at Turin. His remains were taken to Hungary and buried in the soil for the freedom of which he sacrificed his life.

*Eugene Pivany's "Hungarians in the American Civil War," p. 51.

XII.

HUNGARY FROM 1849 TO 1914

The Hungarian army surrendered to the Russian army; and Nicholas, the emperor of Russia, "proudly handed defeated Hungary over to Francis Joseph, the emperor of Austria."Flushed with victory, which his army did not obtain, Francis Joseph revenged himself upon the unfortunate country. "The punishment meted out to Hungary had no quality of mercy in it. Many generals and civilians were hanged. The constitutional privileges were entirely abolished. Hungary became a mere province of Austria, and was crushed under the iron heel. That catastrophe of 1849 seemed the complete annihilation of that country."*

The autonomy of the cities and counties were abolished. The churches were forced under government control. The orders of the government at Vienna were executed in Hungary by foreign officials, chiefly Bohemians (Czechs) and Germans. The local governments and the education of the youth were based upon the Austrian system, the latter superintended by the church.

The people were terrorized. Hundreds of the leaders were under sentence of death. It was a severely punishable crime even to speak concerning the revolution of 1848, or of the leaders of the revolution. When a group of students were celebrating the 15th day of March and placing wreaths upon the graves of the thirteen martyrs, the imperial soldiers fired upon the celebrators and dispersed them. It seemed that Hungary was to remain crushed for all times to come.

*Hazen's "Europe Since 1815," pp. 180 and 181.

But the emperor found that a dissatisfied Hungary was of no great benefit to him or to his empire. During the Austro-Italian war (1859) and also during the Prussian-Austrian war (1866), the Hungarians remained aloof, and consequently in both instances the emperor was defeated. These reverses induced the emperor to make some concessions to the Hungarians. It was proposed, therefore, to make Hungary a member of the Austrian empire and to give her a part of the constitution of the empire.

Hungary, however, would accept nothing but what she had established in 1848. Francis Deák, who was now the leader and "the wise man of Hungary," in the Diet (May 13, 1861), clearly defined the position of the Hungarians. "They want to give us a constitution," said he, "but not that which they took away from us. What they want to give us is a part of that constitution which they prepared for the whole empire. We, however, do not want a granted constitution. We demand back our own ancient constitution, which was established upon mutual agreement and which grew out of the life of the nation; that constitution, the fundamental principles of which centuries had sanctioned."* "It may be," he said at another occasion, "that our country may experience hardships in the future; but we shall not purchase such hardships by non-performance of our civic duties."†

Having been twice defeated by foreign enemies and fearing another uprising in Hungary, the emperor finally yielded. On June 8, 1867, he was crowned King of Hungary, and a compromise was effected between him and Hungary.

The result of the compromise was the establishment of the dual monarchy known as the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Each country was to be a separate and independent state. Austria was to have an emperor and

*Szalay-Baroti's "A Magyar Nemzet Története," p. 521.

†Ibid., p. 524.

Hungary a king, the emperor and the king being the same person. Each country was to have its own parliament of two houses and a ministry responsible to its parliament. The parliaments were to make laws for the respective countries; but such laws were to be sanctioned by the Emperor-King. They were to have one common army; each, however, to have a national militia. The expenses of the monarchy were to be divided between the two countries; and the international relations of the monarchy were to be handled by a joint ministry.

The relation between Hungary and Austria never became cordial. Austria continued dominating Hungary. It had been the case of "Austria first." The advantages of international commerce and international relations were always in favor of Austria. In matters of grave international questions the will and interest of Austria predominated always. So that while on paper Hungary was one of the members of the dual monarchy, in fact, Austria was the dominating factor. One of the clearest examples of this is the annexation of Bosnia and Herczegovina to Hungary against the active protest of the Hungarians (1908). And the last well known example of the Austrian domination in the dual monarchy is the declaration of war against Servia (1914), in spite of the decided opposition of Hungary.

The House of Hapsburg lived in iniquity and was destroyed by the weight of its own sins. The only sad feature about the downfall of that dynasty is that it carried with itself to destruction its unwilling victim—unfortunate Hungary.

XIII.

THE POLITICAL STATUS OF HUNGARY IN 1914

To the diplomatic world, Hungary was known in 1914 as the Kingdom of Hungary, which included Hungary proper, the city and territory of Fiume and Croatia-Slavonia. Each of these three divisions was an independent political entity, but all were joined together under the Hungarian crown for administrative purposes. Each had its own autonomy and legislative assembly, but above them all was the Hungarian Parliament in which each political division was proportionately represented. The union of these three divisions had one king, in the person of the Emperor of Austria, known as the Apostolic King of Hungary and King of Croatia-Slavonia. The Kingdom of Hungary thus composed, was one of the members of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

Hungary proper, covering a territory of 109,216 square miles, included Transylvania and all the territory which the Hungarians occupied ever since they settled in that country, more than one thousand years ago. It was Hungary proper that comprised the Hungarian Nation. The Hungarian Nation had its own constitution, its parliament and a ministry responsible to the parliament. The King of Hungary proper was the Emperor of Austria.

Theoretically and on paper Hungary was an independent kingdom and, as such, an independent member of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. In fact, however, she was virtually a vassal State controlled by the Austrian Empire. While she had her own constitution and parliament and ministry, Hungary was not permit-

ted to have laws passed for her own advancement, unless sanctioned by the Emperor of Austria under his title as King of Hungary.

It followed, therefore, that political and economic Hungary was a sealed book to the world. The meager information given to the world concerning Hungary was mostly inspired by and given through Austrian sources; and such information was usually biased and incorrect, the purpose of Austria throughout the past centuries being to show Hungary to the world in an unfavorable light. Against the isolation from the world Hungary had no remedy, having no foreign commerce, or diplomatic or consular service of her own. What foreign trade she should have had was swallowed by Austria, eighty (80) per cent of Hungary's exports having been consigned to Austria where the goods or raw material lost their Hungarian identity. Under these conditions the benefit of foreign commerce and diplomatic service always inured to the benefit of Austria, whereas the responsibilities for diplomatic blunders were heavily visited upon Hungary, as is plainly evinced by the treatment accorded to her by the Peace Conference of Paris.

XIV.

THE POPULATION OF HUNGARY IN 1914

The population of Hungary proper, in 1914, was composed chiefly of Hungarians. Beside the Hungarians, descendants of various other races were living in Hungary, creating a situation somewhat similar to the racial condition in the United States of America. The Hungarians had ever since they settled the country, known as Hungary proper, encouraged immigration into Hungary, and gave special privileges to those who settled in the country. These settlers retained their racial characteristics. Thus resulted a racial variation among the population of the country.

As far back as 1200 A. D., foreigners were attracted to Hungary by reason of the political and religious advantages prevailing in that country from the time it was settled by the Hungarians. The Hungarian Nation was, after England, the second in Europe to have her own constitution: therefore, foreigners who sought political advantages, flocked to and settled on Hungarian soil. In addition to political advantages, Hungary, while governed by the Hungarians themselves, offered religious advantages to those living on Hungarian soil. Indeed, Pope Pius II in a letter to Frederick III, in 1459, called Hungary the "Shield of Christianity" and the "defender of western civilization."*

In addition to political and religious advantages, economic privileges were given to the settlers. Large tracts of land were given them, and in some instances they were relieved even of the payment of taxes.

The Roumanians began to settle in the eastern part

*George De Szögényi's "Nothing but the Truth," p. 4.

of Hungary, Transylvania, early in 1241. The Servians began to settle in the southern part of Hungary in 1389, when, by a royal decree, special privileges were given them. The Slovaks settled in the upper part of Hungary along the slopes of the Carpathian mountains. About 1255, a large number of Germans settled in the country, and a large tract of land was donated them by a royal decree.*

These settlers were treated by the Hungarians with the utmost consideration. They were allowed to keep their customs, language, and educational system if they had any. It resulted, therefore, that in 1914, there were in Hungary proper a number of various races, each speaking its own language and tenaciously clinging to its racial customs.

According to the census of 1910, the population and races in Hungary proper ranged as follows. Descendants of:

Hungarians	-----	9,938,134
German settlers	-----	1,901,042
Croatian settlers	-----	181,882
Slovak settlers	-----	1,946,165
Serbian settlers	-----	461,091
Roumanian settlers	-----	2,948,049
Ruthenian settlers	-----	464,359
Other settlers	-----	423,911
Total	-----	18,264,533

In terms of percentage. Descendants of:

Hungarians	-----	54.5%
German settlers	-----	10.4%
Slovak settlers	-----	10.7%
Roumanian settlers	-----	16.1%
Other settlers	-----	8.3%
		100%

Jews comprising 5.8% of the entire population.

*George De Szögényi's "Nothing but the Truth."

These various races enjoyed in Hungary equal political, religious, economical and educational advantages with the Hungarians. After the compromise with Austria, a system of compulsory education was established in Hungary and thenceforth, beside the native language of the various races, the Hungarian language was compulsory in every school. The result was that in 1910, there was comparatively little illiteracy in Hungary. The following table shows vividly the result of the system of education. The percentage of those who could read and write the Hungarian language in 1910 is as follows. Descendants of:

Hungarians	-----	73.3%
Germans	-----	82.4%
Slovaks	-----	69.7%
Servians	-----	59.8%
Roumanians (children attended Hungarian schools)	-----	52.1%

By comparing this table with that of free and independent Servia and Roumania of 1910, it is found that the percentage of illiteracy in those countries is much below that of Hungary.

In Servia the percentage of those who could read and write was 16.9%; while in Hungary the percentage of those of Servian extraction who could read and write was 59.8%.

In Roumania, according to the census of 1909, 60.1% of the total population could neither read nor write. The percentage of those who could read and write in Roumania was only 39.9%, of which about 4% were Jews. It can be safely stated, therefore, that the educational advantages in Roumania were much lower than those of Hungary; while in Servia the percentage of illiterates was woefully high. And if the fact is considered that the literates in Servia and Roumania include the old and literate families, while in Hungary the

Servians and Roumanians are mostly farmers, it will be seen that, on the average, education in Hungary in 1914 was on a higher plane than in Servia and Roumania.*

There was complete religious freedom in Hungary. Without molestation or interference of any kind, everyone could worship according to the dictates of his own conscience. No political or other disability existed on account of religion. It followed, therefore, that in 1914 there were a number of established religions in Hungary, which in percentage ranged as follows:[†]

Roman and Greek Catholics (united) -----	60%
Eastern Greek Orthodox (not united) -----	16%
Lutherans -----	7%
Calvinists (Presbyterian-Reformed) -----	13%
Unitarians -----	1/3%
Jews -----	4%

In addition to the foregoing religions, the Baptist Church has gained a strong foothold in Hungary and its adherents now number many thousands.

Such was the cosmopolitan feature of Hungary in 1914. These various races, with their various customs but common ideals, were united in one common aim,—the betterment and advancement of the country. Hungary proper was their country and they proudly called themselves Hungarians.

*George De Szögenyi's "Nothing but the Truth." See also: Pamphlet: "The Protestant Churches of Hungary," III, p. 10.

†Vambéry, "The Story of Hungary," p. 14.

XV.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND ECONOMIC UNITY OF HUNGARY PROPER IN 1914

Hungary proper, covering an area of 282,870 square kilometers, is situated in the southeastern part of Europe. This territory included in 1914, Transylvania and all the land which the Hungarians settled in 896 A. D., and which, ever since it was so settled, was known and recognized by the world as Hungary. In its geographical structure, Hungary proper is the most beautifully perfect handiwork of Nature. With the possible exception of a few islands, there is hardly any other country in the world beside Hungary proper which is blessed with a more perfect geographical, organic, and economic unity.

If the Creator of the universe had a definite aim and purpose in mind at the time He mapped out the various parts of the world, He purposely mapped out and carefully drew the lines around that piece of territory which became known as Hungary; for by its natural "lay" and geographical position, Hungary is a most perfect geomorphological, geographical, hydrographical, and economic unit. Its chains of mountains, its river system, the distribution of its minerals and its fertile land are so planned and created, that the entire country is economically interdependent. This is true to such an unusually great extent that by severing one section from another the entire country is thrown into economic ruin.

Hungary proper is an organic unit. In the Northwest from the banks of the river Danube it is encircled by the range of the Carpathian mountains "like a gigantic evergreen wreath." This range extends along the northern

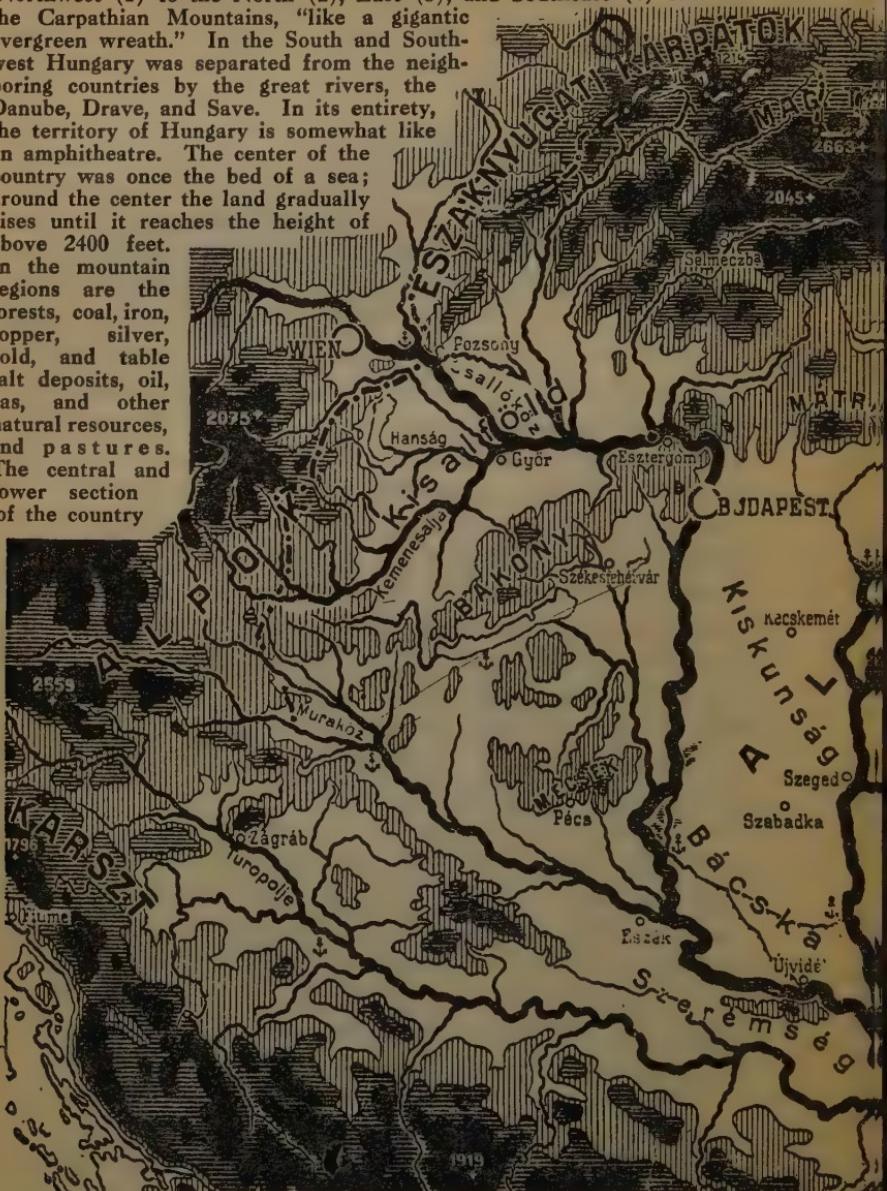
boundary, enclosing the eastern portion of the country, and thence stretches westward where it is intersected by the waters of the Danube. This mountain range serves as a natural boundary and also as a bulwark against the enemies of the country. From the southeastern part, where the Carpathian range ceases, the country is separated from the neighboring states by the great rivers, the Danube, Drave, and Morave to the beginning of the Carpathian mountain range, thus completing in a circle its natural boundaries.

The geomorphological structure of Hungary also testifies to the organic unity of the country. Its natural resources are so distributed that the various parts of the country are economically dependent upon one another. The northern and northwestern part of the country is rich in timber, coal, iron, ore, and salt; the southeastern part abounds in natural gas, oil, coal, table salt, copper, gold and silver mines; but both these sections are poor in agricultural products. The grain and vegetable producing section of Hungary is the great plains of Hungary, which in fertility may fairly be compared to the best wheat producing section of North America. "The great Hungarian plain, so-called Alföld (Lowland), boasts of the best soil for the production of wheat, and stretching down from the off-shoots of the Central Carpathian Mountains to the frontiers of Servia, contains upward of 35,000 square miles." Each section produces that which is needed by the other section. Thus, by the distribution of its natural resources, Hungary is one indivisible geographical and economic unit. Each section needs the surplus products of the other sections. Separately they cannot exist, while together they form a most perfect self-supporting organism.

To complete this organic unity, Hungary is blessed with the most perfect hydrographical system. With rivers the country is abundantly supplied. The two largest rivers in Hungary are the Danube and the Tisza

THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND ORC

This is an accurate map of Hungary proper, as she was in 1914. From Northwest (1) to the North (2), East (3), and Southeast (4) she was encircled by the Carpathian Mountains, "like a gigantic evergreen wreath." In the South and Southwest Hungary was separated from the neighboring countries by the great rivers, the Danube, Drave, and Save. In its entirety, the territory of Hungary is somewhat like an amphitheatre. The center of the country was once the bed of a sea; around the center the land gradually rises until it reaches the height of above 2400 feet. In the mountain regions are the forests, coal, iron, copper, silver, gold, and table salt deposits, oil, gas, and other natural resources, and pastures. The central and lower section of the country

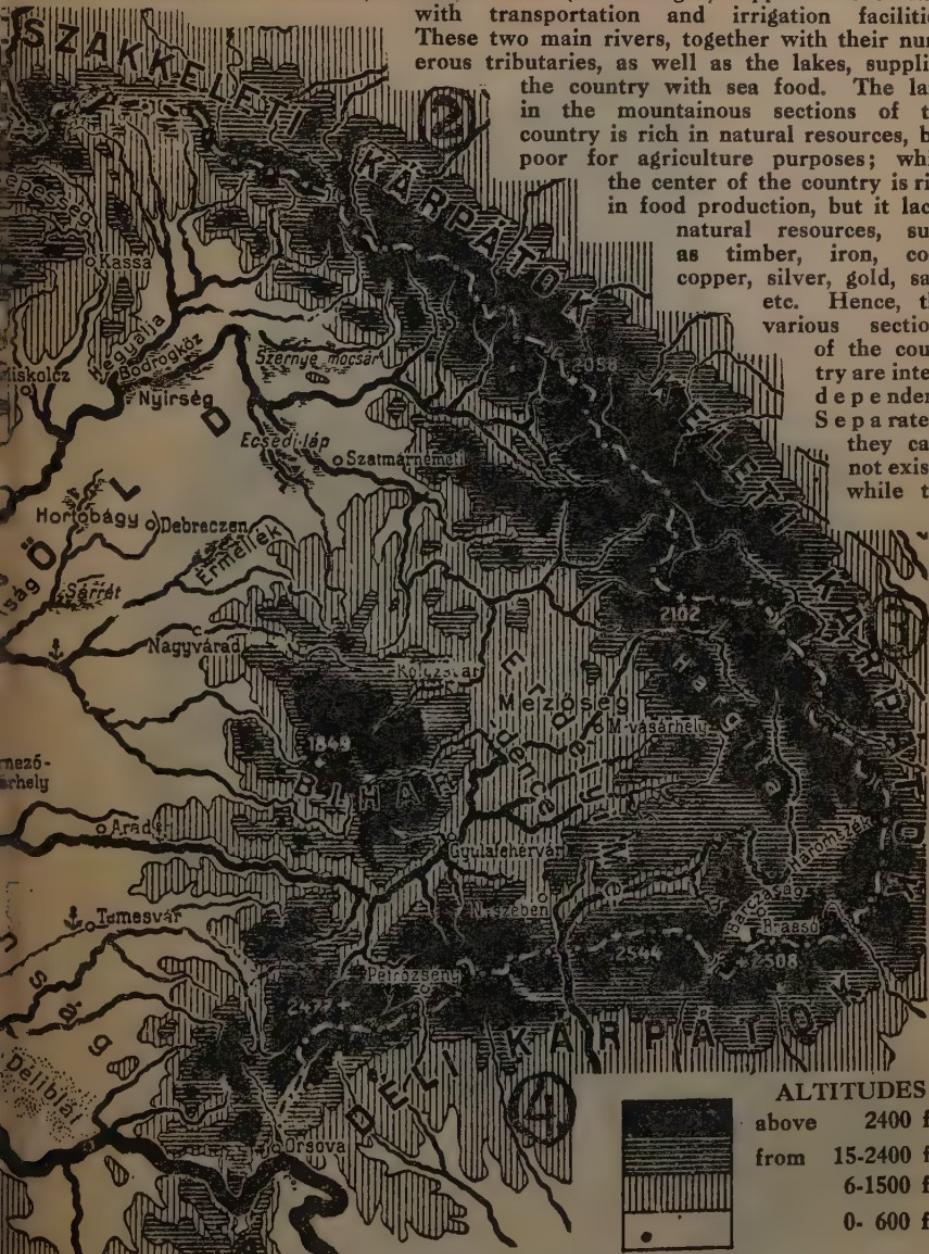


gether they form a self-supporting organism. It would seem that the Creator has purposely intended the territory of Hungary to be one inseparable geographical and

THE UNITY OF HUNGARY PROPER

was the granary of this beautiful geographical and organic unit. The two main rivers, the Danube, (on the left) and the Trisza (on the right) supplied the country with transportation and irrigation facilities. These two main rivers, together with their numerous tributaries, as well as the lakes, supplied

the country with sea food. The land in the mountainous sections of the country is rich in natural resources, but poor for agriculture purposes; while the center of the country is rich in food production, but it lacks natural resources, such as timber, iron, coal, copper, silver, gold, salt, etc. Hence, the various sections of the country are independent. Separately they cannot exist; while to-



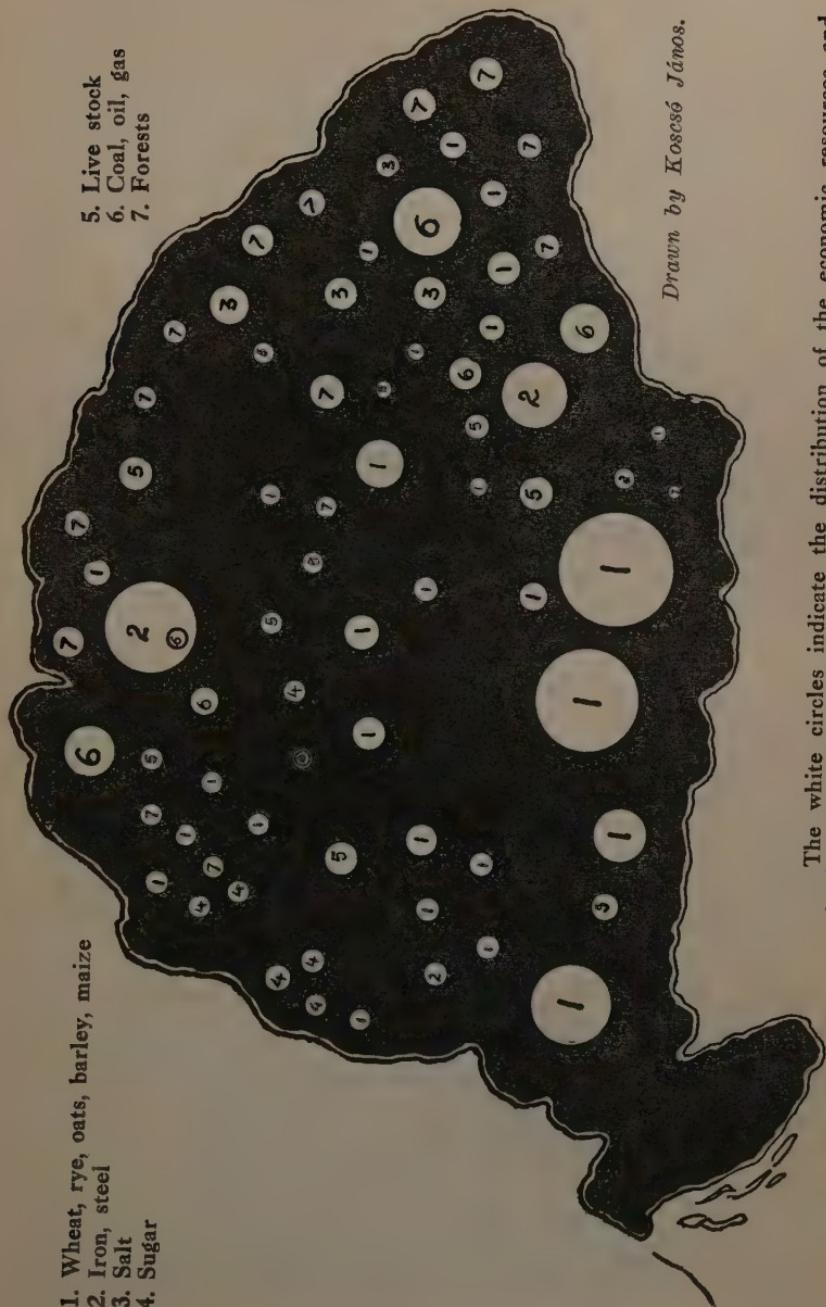
organic unit. It would therefore appear nothing less than a desecration and sacrilege to attempt to cut apart and tear asunder this beautiful creation of God.

(This map is a reprint from the Map Section of the "Pesti Hirlap.")

THE ECONOMIC UNITY OF HUNGARY PROPER

AN APPEAL FOR WORLD PEACE

95



Drawn by Kossuth János.

The white circles indicate the distribution of the economic resources and food producing land throughout the country. The Banat is the lower part of the country where the two large white (1) circles are shown. Transylvania is the eastern part of Hungary. The Unitarian Church was born in Transylvania.

(Theiss). These and other smaller rivers are navigable by steamships, and in their course converge and unite in the Plains (Alföld) of Hungary. In addition, there are a number of large and small lakes abounding in fish and other sea food. Insofar as the transportation, water power and sea food producing facilities of the waters of Hungary are concerned, they fairly rival the water system of any country in the world.

As if to season this beautiful geographical unit, Nature has gifted Hungary with the most favorable climate. The country lies between the forty-fourth and fiftieth degrees of northern latitude which is the most favorable part of the temperate zone. The climatic condition of the country is excellent. Along the shores of the Adriatic the air is most genial and there are grown the fruits of Southern Europe. In the plains the air is dry; while in the mountainous regions it is balmy and invigorating.

To more fully complete this perfect work of Nature, Hungary was endowed with various kinds of mineral waters, baths and health resorts. Perhaps there is no other country in the world of the size of Hungary that has been provided by Nature with as much natural hot water of medicinal qualities. There is enough natural steaming hot water under the city of Budapest to supply every possible hot water need of that city, provided the necessary means were available to install the necessary piping and pumping system. Indeed, it appears as if Nature aimed and purposed to create in Hungary a most perfect geographical, economical and organic unit.

Such was the topography and climate of Hungary, before the Peace Conference of Paris, with unholy hands, dissected, dismembered and mutilated this most perfect handiwork of the Maker.

Highways.—These natural endowments were augmented by the engineering skill and never ceasing industry of the Hungarians. During the last one thousand

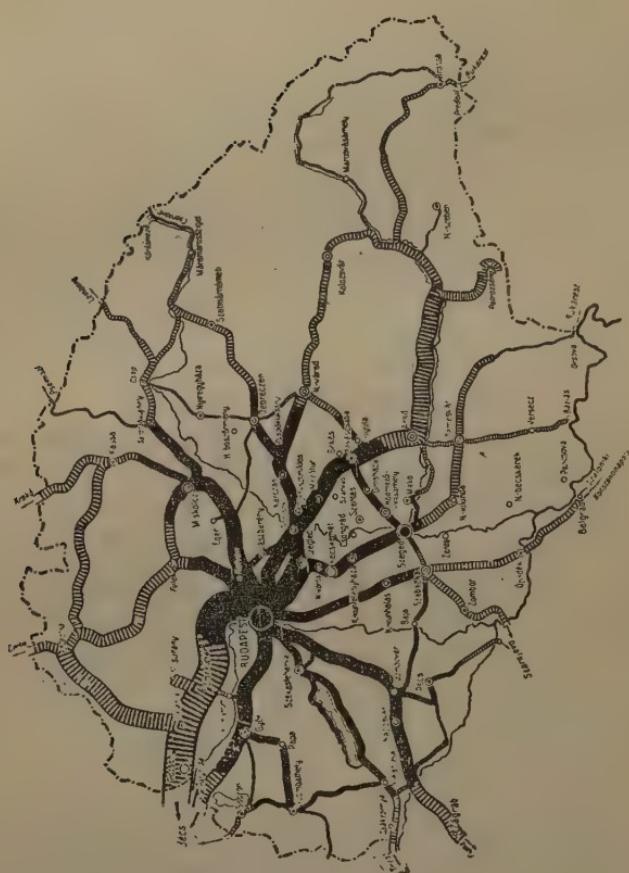
and more years, the Hungarians built substantial highways leading into Budapest as a center. In addition to the highways a systematic network of railways were built throughout Hungary, these also being concentrated in Budapest. Both the highways and the railways were built along the natural water courses and thus completed the natural economic connection among the various sections of the country.

Railways.—The total length of the Hungarian railways in 1913 amounted to 21,806 kilometers, of which 9,076 kilometers (41.6%) were first class lines, 11,462 kilometers (5%) third class lines. The length of the double track lines amounted to 1,389 kilometers and that of the single track lines 20,414 kilometers. The stations and stopping places numbered 4,625. The merchandise transported amounted to 87,175,009 tons. The passengers numbered 166,097,000, each passenger having traveled on the average of 30.2 kilometers. There were within the normal frontiers of the country 28 terminals.

Post Offices.—Hungary had also a complete postal system. In 1913 there were two post offices for every 100 square kilometers, and thirty-one post offices for every 100,000 souls. In all, there were, in 1913, 6,610 post offices in Hungary.

Telegraph.—The total length of the telegraph lines in Hungary, in 1913, was 26,000 kilometers, and that of the wires 161,000 kilometers. The stations numbered 5,171, and the total number of telegrams handled was 26,000,000.

Telephone.—The total length of the telephone lines in Hungary, in 1913, was 38,000 kilometers; the total length of the wires was 453,000 kilometers, and the number of stations was 86,000. The length of interurban telephone lines was 10,000 kilometers, and the total length of the wires was 62,000 kilometers. The total number of calls on the interurban lines amounted to 234



The railroad traffic in Hungary. Budapest, the Capital of Hungary, is the center of not only the railroads of Hungary, but also of the railroad system of Center Europe. Budapest is the Cincinnati of Southeastern Europe. Being on the Danube River, Budapest is the natural center of the water transportation system of Southeastern Europe. (Reprinted from the Map Section of the "Pesti Hirlap.")

millions, and that of the telegrams received and delivered through telephone amounted to two millions.

Budapest as Center.—As the river system, highways and railways, so did the telegraph and telephone systems center in Budapest, as the natural commercial center of the country.

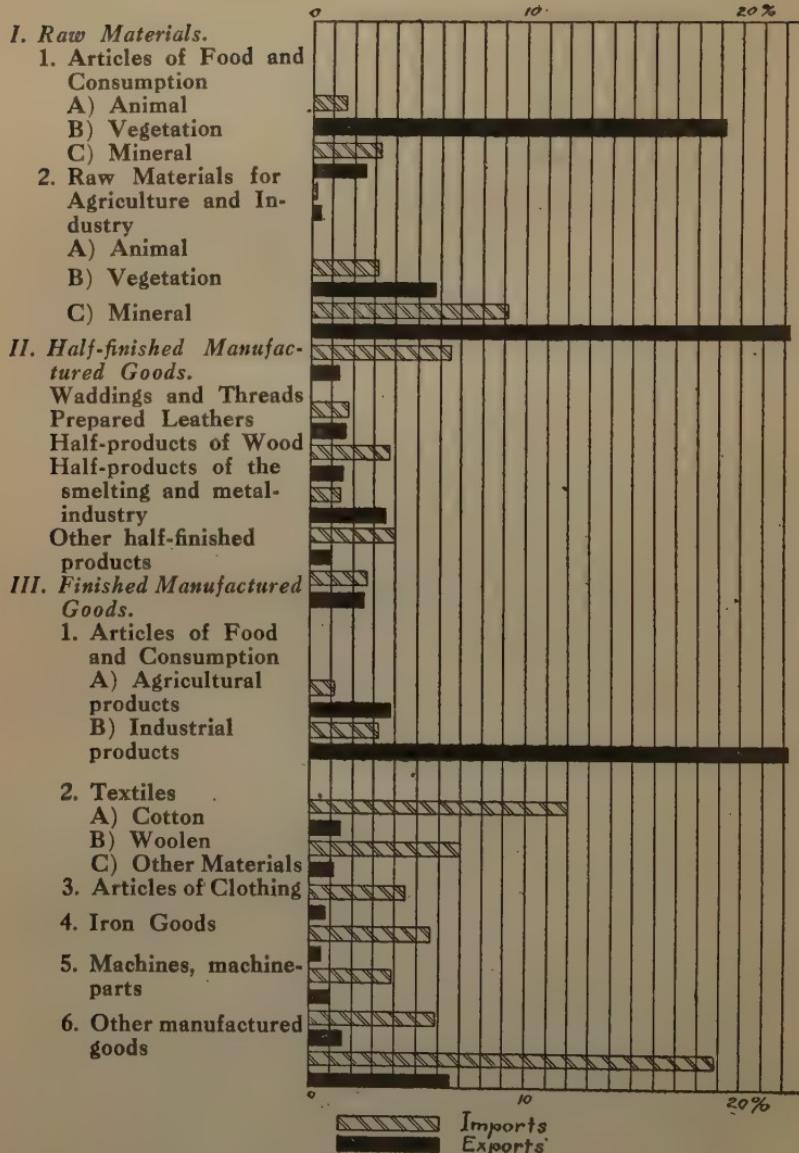
Import and Export.—In 1913 the import into Hungary was of the value of 300 million and the export valued at 260 million crowns. The imports were chiefly raw materials, minerals and tropical fruit; while the exports were chiefly flour, sugar, candy, finished woodwork and other finished products.

Coal Production.—In 1913 Hungary's coal production totaled roughly ten million tons. This did not cover the home demand; therefore, about four million tons of coal and coke were imported. Of this importation 66% was from Germany, 28% from Austria and 6% from England. The total value of import of coal and coke was about one hundred million crowns.

Gas and Oil.—Hungary's stock of natural gas has been estimated by experts at 5000.000 million cubic meters, its heating capacity at 4,260 billion calories. The crude oil was estimated to be 500,000 tons.

Mechanical Energy and Hydraulic Power.—By skillful engineering the waters of Hungary were harnessed so that, in 1913, an electrical power of 2,626 millions of kwhrs. could be produced. While the average of yearly output of water power of importance in Hungary—measured by busbars—was estimated at low waters (average output per second 8,760 hours) at 10 milliards of kwhrs., and at mid waters at 34 milliards of kwhrs.

The Industries.—Hungary had her own timber land and saw mills. The value of production of the saw mills in Hungary, in 1913, was 130 million crowns. Her paper mills and paper-pulp factories produced more paper than was needed in Hungary, and the surplus of the value of eight million crowns was exported. All the



Foreign Trade in Hungary. Average of the years 1911-1913 in percentage values of total imports and exports.—Redesigned from Dr. L. Buday's "Dismembered Hungary," p. 173.

flour and cereals were prepared in Hungary for home consumption, and about 400 million crowns' value was exported. The production of silk was also gaining, and in 1913 about 1,345 kilograms was produced.

The sugar refining industry in Hungary represented in 1913 the value of 185 million crowns, this being 5.6% of the total value of the industrial productions of the country. There were in all 30 refineries in Hungary, and they employed 24,000 workmen. The surplus of sugar was exported to every part of the world, Great Britain receiving about 50% of the export.

The alcohol and brewery industries of Hungary produced more than necessary for home consumption; therefore beer of the value of about six million crowns was exported annually.

The tobacco industry was supplied with home grown tobacco. There were 20 tobacco factories in Hungary, which employed about 20,000 men. The production amounted to about 48,000 tons, for which 22 million crowns were paid to the growers. Almost one-half of the finished products was exported.

The starch factories manufactured yearly about 12.3 million crowns' worth. The surplus of the value of 7 million crowns was exported; while vegetable preserve factories put out productions valued at 5 million crowns. This latter industry was in its infancy when the war broke out in 1914.

The vegetable oil factories produced in 1913 about 18.5 million crowns value of products. The soap and candle works put out 27 million crowns' worth of products. Candles of the value of 2 million crowns, however, were imported into Hungary yearly.

The iron and steel industries worked up, in 1913, 15 million m.q. of iron ore, producing 6 million of m.q. of pig iron and 140,000 m.q. cast iron. The value of production was 270 million crowns. This industry employed

about 24,500 workmen and used engines of the total of 78,500 horsepower.

The manufacture of machinery in Hungary was the most important industry aside from the agricultural industries. The value of such engineering work was, in 1913, 212 million crowns. In this industry 41,000 workmen were employed and the power of engines used amounted to 32,000 horsepower.

The textile industry of the country was in the making when the war broke out in 1914. It, however, supplied about fifty per cent of the home demand of textile goods. In this industry, had not the war come, Hungary would have produced, in due time, a sufficient quantity for home consumption.

The cotton industry was important in Hungary. In 1913 it produced goods valued at 42 million crowns. The home production, however, was not sufficient for home consumption, and woolen goods were imported of the value of 104 million crowns.

The leather industries produced finished products of the value of 55 million crowns; but this did not satisfy home demand. Therefore, about 51 million crowns' worth of leather goods were imported into Hungary in 1913. This is explained by the fact that the raw hides and live animals were exported from Hungary.

The production of the petroleum refineries, in 1913, amounted to 45 million crowns. Most of the raw materials for these refineries were obtained from the Galician oil fields, and the value of the import was 29 million crowns.

The fertilizer works produced superphosphate. In 1913 the value of manufactured superphosphate was 12 million crowns. The production of this industry did not satisfy home demand; therefore, about 1.3 million crowns' worth of superphosphate was imported into Hungary.

The glass works produced, in 1913, 1,200,000 square

metres of sheet glass and 20 million bottles, all amounting in value to 13 million crowns. This was not sufficient for home demands; therefore, about 16 million crowns' worth of glass was imported.

The cement works produced more than was necessary for home consumption. The surplus of about 150,000 m.q. cement was exported. This industry produced yearly 14.6 million crowns' value of cement.

The quarries of Hungary yielded more than sufficient for home consumption. This was true of the brick industry also.

Table salt, this necessary article for the preservation of life, was mined in Hungary in the quantity of about 200,000 m.q. yearly, which represented the value of about 35 million crowns.*

The arable land in Hungary in 1913, was 13 million hectares,† which was utilized as follows:

Wheat -----	27%
Maize (corn) -----	22%
Barley -----	10%
Oats -----	10%
Rye -----	9%
Potatoes -----	5%
Sugar Beet -----	1.5%

In 1912 Hungary had an area of 28,227,366 hectares of land which was divided according to cultivation, as follows:

Arable land -----	45 %	i. e.	12,833,639	hectares
Forests -----	25 %	i. e.	7,280,221	hectares
Pasture -----	11.8%	i. e.	3,323,011	hectares
Meadows -----	9.2%	i. e.	2,610,925	hectares
Gardens -----	1.3%	i. e.	378,797	hectares
Vineyards -----	1.1%	i. e.	303,066	hectares

*At prewar rate of exchange a Hungarian crown's value in U. S. currency was twenty (20) cents.

†A hectare represents an area of 10,000 square meters, or 2.471 acres.

Reeds -----	0.2%	i. e.	54,323	hectares
Uncultivated -----	5.1%	i. e.	1,443,430	hectares

The agricultural products, in 1913, ranged as follows:

Wheat, 41,200,000	metric quintals.
Rye, 13.3	million metric quintals.
Barley, 17.5	million metric quintals.
Oats, 14.5	million metric quintals.
Maize (corn), 46	million metric quintals.
Potatoes, 49	million metric quintals.
Wine, 3,316,000	hectalitres.
Honey, 27,000	metric quintals.

The value of exports of these agricultural products ranged as follows:

Wheat -----	112	million crowns
Wheated flour -----	234	million crowns
Rye -----	46	million crowns
Barley -----	47.8	million crowns
Oats -----	18.6	million crowns
Potatoes -----	.8	million crowns
Wine -----	28	million crowns

Hungary was quite a cattle raising country. In 1913 the surplus of cattle exported amounted to 336,000 head of cattle of the value of 157 million crowns. Swine were exported of the value of 129 million crowns. The surplus of horses were in number 46,000, and the value of this export was 27 million crowns. The export of sheep reached the value of 3 million crowns.

The credit institutions of Hungary were 5,023 in number, of which 1832 were banks and 3191 were co-operative societies. The total capital of all the credit institutions at the beginning of the year 1913 amounted to 3,760 million crowns. Money paid in amounted to 2,734 million crowns. Money taken out amounted 2,642

*A metric quintal equals to 100 kilograms, or 220.46 pounds avoirdupois.

million crowns. The total capital at the end of the year was 3,852 million crowns.

The natural resources, as well as the arable and food producing lands, are distributed all over the country. This natural distribution is such that one section is dependent upon another section of the country. Consequently, by its natural division, the whole country of Hungary is economically interdependent.

To illustrate: The great central plain of Hungary is the grain producing region of the country; but it has practically no timber and minerals of any kind. While the northern and northeastern part of Hungary is rich in timber, coal, salt, it is not able to produce the necessary grain and food products. Southeastern Hungary abounds in natural gas, oil, coal, salt, copper, gold and silver; but for its food products it depends upon the central plain of the country. Thus, it is evident that each region needs the product of which the other regions have a surplus. Separately they cannot exist: while together they form a natural self-supporting organism.

This natural interdependence of the country and the resultant self-supporting economic unity of Hungary is strengthened by the river system of the country. To this system are added the highways and the railroad system, built to aid and accommodate Nature in facilitating and carrying out Nature's design to completion, which design was to facilitate the intercommunication of the various sections and the proper distribution and exchange of their products. Thus, Nature and the Hungarians working hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder, Hungary was made a self-supporting organism. And this organism was so complete in 1914, that the severance of one part from the other parts of the country inevitably would result in the economic collapse of the whole country.

Hungary proper in 1914 consisted of 63 counties, and each county was divided into districts. Both the counties

and the districts were self-governing, and their administrative officials were elected for a term of six years by the County Administration Assembly. The central government was represented by an appointed commissioner who supervised the administration of the county and saw to it that the orders of the central government were carried out by the county authorities.

The legislation of the entire country was by the Parliament at Budapest, to which each district sent one delegate and the towns one or more, according to their size. The number of delegates in 1914 numbered 413.

Above the Parliament was the Ministry which was responsible to the Parliament. And above the Ministry was the King of Hungary, who was at the same time and in the same person the Emperor of Austria, King and Prince of the other parts of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

The educational system of Hungary in 1914.—The Hungarians were ardent advocates of the education of their children. After a long and hard struggle with Austria they established their right to educate their children who lived within the confines of Hungary proper. There were 16,861 elementary schools and 34,574 teachers in Hungary in 1913, and over 68 per cent of the population, above six years of age, were able to read and write the Hungarian language.

In addition to the elementary schools, there were vocational schools and higher institutions of learning. There were schools of agriculture, vineyard, forestry and mining. For the training of industrial apprentices there were industrial schools. Their pupils numbered 130,000. There were about fifty other different industrial schools, giving about three hundred different courses of instruction and having about 25,000 pupils yearly. This instruction alone involved an expenditure, since 1868, of the sum of 124 million crowns, 85 millions of which was paid by the State.

The apprentices of industrial and commercial trades were trained in 746 schools established for that purpose. In these schools, in 1913, there were over 136,000 pupils, and the expenses ran up to four million crowns.

To crown the system of education, Hungary had an adequate number of colleges and universities. It may be stated without exaggeration that the educational system of Hungary in 1913 was equal to the educational system of any other country in Europe.

For the general education of the public, there were, in 1913, published in Hungary 2,049 books and 1780 different newspapers and periodicals, 842 of which were published in Budapest, the capital of the country.*

Such was the physiognomy of Hungary when the war broke out in 1914. Through the past centuries the Hungarian Nation fought valiantly against great odds and scaled seemingly unsurmountable difficulties and barriers to establish her right to exist. In the midst of her classic struggles for existence she had built up a country which fairly rivaled almost any country of her size in Europe in political, religious and economic freedom and general education and culture.

*The foregoing data and figures were taken from "The Economics of Hungary in Maps," presented to the Paris Peace Conference by the Hungarian Delegates.

XVI.

WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WORLD WAR?

"Who caused the World War?" This question has been asked repeatedly by millions of honest inquiring souls. The rulers, diplomats and politicians, who had actively engaged in the great conflict, have thus far refused to accept any responsibility for having caused or started the World War. Indeed, one of the most interesting features of the World War is that each participant therein has been ever since the war started, and still is, extremely clamorous and eager to prove his own innocence and anxiously disclaims any responsibility for having caused or started the World War. Therefore, the fact is, that the question, "Who caused the World War?" has, thus far, remained unanswered.

During the World War it was customary and, indeed, a patriotic duty in the countries of the "Allied and Associated Powers" to say and to believe that the World War was caused and started by the German Kaiser. At this time it would be futile to argue either for or against that belief; for an argument which is not fortified by historical facts is plainly an absurdity. The safest method to pursue in quest of the culprits who caused the World War is to examine the post-war statements and admissions of responsible statesmen of the countries of the "Allied and Associated Powers"; to analyze the pre-war history of Europe; and to discover the aims and purposes of the participants in the World War. By this method of inquiry, the truth will be discovered and the responsibility for having caused and started the World War will be fixed with a definiteness which leaves no room for doubt.

During the war the leading statesmen of the "Allied and Associated Powers" were reluctant to inform their peoples as to the real culprits who caused the war, except to say that the German Kaiser was the cause of it. On October 26th, 1916, less than a month before his re-election on the slogan, "HE KEPT US OUT OF WAR," and six months before the American people entered the conflict, President Woodrow Wilson, at Cincinnati, Ohio, asked his audience:

"Have you heard who started the present war? If you have, I wish you would publish it, because nobody else has."*

Lloyd George, the Prime Minister of England, speaking to the Empire Parliamentary Association in London, on December 23rd, 1920, apologizing for everybody who was concerned in the World War, said:

"The more one reads memoirs and books written in the various countries of what happened before August 1st, 1914, the more one realizes that *no one at the head of affairs quite meant war*. It was something into which they glided, or rather staggered or stumbled."†

But the foregoing profession of ignorance on the part of President Woodrow Wilson and Premier Lloyd George is contradicted by the statements and admissions of responsible military men of England, France and the United States of America. It may rightfully be presumed that the heads of the civil governments of these countries were in possession of the informations possessed by their military chiefs.

The New York Tribune on April 9th, 1919, under a London headline reported that, "At a dinner which the members of the House of Parliament are to give soon after Easter in honor of Sir Henry Wilson, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, the following letter from Mar-

*Quoted in "Issues of Today," Jan. 14th, 1922.

†Quoted: Ibid.

shall Foch will be read: "*Long before the war General Wilson and I worked together to prepare for the struggle against the German peril which we both foresaw. It is due to the success of his mobilization arrangements and his careful and detailed plans for transporting troops that the British army was able to arrive quickly on the field of battle as soon as the government had come to a decision.*"*

And be it remembered that Marshall Foch was the Chief of Staff of the French army. His statement, therefore, should carry the weight of an authority on that subject.

Furthermore: Lord Haldane, former Minister of War, England, in June, 1919, testifying before the coal commission, said: "*On Monday, July 31, 1914, at the request of the Prime Minister (Herbert Asquith) the war office mobilized the war machine with which I was familiar. Giving orders took only a few minutes. Everything had been prepared years before. The expeditionary force was ready in forty-eight hours.*"† Lord Haldane, it is presumed, also spoke with authority.

Another Englishman, Lord French, the British Field Marshal, says in his book (1919): "*The British and French general staffs had for some years been in close secret consultation with one another on this subject,*" which was the preparation for a war against Germany. "*In the ten years previous to the war (1914) I had constantly envisaged the probable course of events leading up to the outbreak of this world war, as well as the manner of the outbreak itself. It thus fell out that in August, 1914, the many possibilities and alternatives of action were quite familiar to my mind. It was not within the knowledge of all that the general staffs of Great Britain and France had for a long time held conferences and that*

*Quoted: *Ibid.*

†Quoted: *Ibid.*

*a complete mutual understanding as to combined action in certain eventualities existed.”**

Again: Admiral Sims of the U. S. Navy, speaking at a banquet held by the Lincoln Association in the Cataret Club, Jersey City, on February 12, 1920, said: “In December, 1910, (four years before the war broke out) I submitted a secret report to the Admiral of my fleet. I explained that it had been typewritten by me and that no other human eye had seen it. I stated that the consensus of opinion among British officers and officials of European nations with whom I had conferred was that war could not be delayed more than four years. I said this in that report and added that Britain and France would be in that war and that we would enter shortly thereafter.”†

Again: As if to confirm Admiral Sims’ report, according to the New York Herald, February 11th, 1920, Vice President Marshall said in a letter to the Secretary of the Democratic National Committee, E. G. Hoffman of Fort Wayne, Indiana: “*We were in the war from the very moment of its European beginning.*” And Gabriel Hanotaux, former Minister of Foreign Affairs in the French Cabinet, asserted that he was assured by Myron T. Herrick, Bacon and Sharp, the American representatives in Europe, that the United States would enter the war “as soon as the 50,000,000 pro-Allies could be converted into 100,000,000.”

Senator Robert L. Owen said in a speech which he delivered in the United States Senate: “During the World War I have favored the French in every possible way with money, credit, supplies, ships, and men.” But: “The records to which I have called the attention of the Senate appear to demonstrate that the German militaristic rulers did not will the war, tried to avoid the war, and only went into war because of their conviction that the persistent mobilizations of Russia and France meant a

*Quoted: Ibid.

†Quoted: Ibid.

determination on war and were secretly intended as a declaration of war by Russia and France against Germany. *The records show that the Russian and French leaders were determined on war, and intended the mobilizations as the beginning of a war which had for many years been deliberately prepared and worked out by the complete plans of campaign through annual military conferences.**

Senator Copeland of New York says concerning Senator Owen and the revelation made in his speech: "Senator Owen is not a German. On the contrary, he is an American and a member, as I am, of the political party to which Mr. Wilson (ex-President Wilson) belongs. Yet Senator Owen says, with even a greater basis of knowledge, only what Lloyd George said a few months after the armistice. Senator Owen says he does not believe the Kaiser or the German military clique caused it" (the World War).†

After having stepped down from the premiership, Lloyd George became more communicative and gave the world a more positive information as to the parties responsible for the World War. In a syndicated article, on January 6th, 1923, he calls the rulers of the "attacking empires" "*nominal rulers*" and "*terror stricken dummies*." In the same article he fixes definitely and positively the responsibility for the World War upon the military organizations of Germany, France and Russia. Lloyd George claims that:

"The more one examines the events of July, 1914, the more one is impressed with the shrinking of the *nominal rulers* of the attacking empires, and with the relentless driving onward of the military organizations behind *these terror stricken dummies*."

Then in carefully veiled language, Lloyd George continues:

**Congressional Record*, Feb. 26, 1924. Appendix, pp. 3272-79.

†"*The American Monthly*," February, 1924.

"No one ever believed it (the cause of the World War) was the assassination of the royal Archduke (of Austria). Were it not that the German army was more perfect and more potent than either the French or Russian army,—were it not that every German officer was convinced that the German military machine was superior to all its rivals,—*there would have been no war, whatever emperors, diplomatists or statesmen said, thought or intended.*"*

In the foregoing statements, admissions and assertions we have a most staggering confession to the effect, that "no one at the head of affairs quite meant war; that the rulers in Europe—why not the governments also?—were merely "*nominal rulers*" and "*terror stricken dummies*"; that neither the civil governments nor the rulers wanted war; but that the military organizations of the various countries in Europe forced the world into the war; and that "*the relentless driving onward of the military organizations behind these terror stricken dummies*" resulted in the declaration of war, regardless of "whatever emperors, diplomatists or statesmen said, thought or intended."

These facts, these staggering admissions and confessions, reveal the appallingly emasculated condition of the civil government of each and every country in Europe. The innocent public of each of those countries believed that their rulers and duly elected and qualified governments were controlling the affairs of their respective countries. It was believed that the civil authority in those countries was superior to their military men. On paper those rulers and civil governments made war and attempted to make peace. The fact, however, was that those rulers were merely "*nominal rulers*" and "*terror stricken dummies*"; and the governments were merely the rubber stamps of the military organizations; for

*"*Cleveland Press*," Jan. 6, 1923.

"whatever emperors, diplomatists or statesmen said, thought or intended," the World War had to come. The World War was engineered and directed by forces outside of the duly constituted civil governments of the European countries.

But the military organizations of the various countries of Europe could not have forced the World War upon the people, even against the will of the duly constituted civil governments, unless there had been behind those military organizations some *Invisible Power* which dominated the emperors, kings and the duly constituted civil governments.

To ascertain the truth and to discover the *Invisible Power* lurking behind those military organizations, we shall now proceed to examine the pre-war history of Europe. If, in the light of history, we shall succeed in discovering the *Invisible Power*, we shall have the culprits who are directly responsible for the outbreak of the World War.

It should be recalled that in 1815* the Congress of Vienna divided the territory and the people of Europe among the crowned rulers of that continent. The crowned heads were made the states, the lawmakers, the law,—in short, the uncontrolled and absolute tyrants over the European people. Europe was made an aggregation of territorial units which were the private "possessions" of several "legitimate" monarchs. And to insure the peaceable holdings of those possessions, the "legitimate" monarchs organized a fraternal organization which is known in history, as the "Quadruple Alliance."

After the outrage committed by the Congress of Vienna against the peoples of Europe, a strong move-

*The American authorities followed in this investigation are: Schwill's "Political History of Modern Europe," Hazen's "Europe Since 1815," Turner's "Europe Since 1870," and Usher's "Pan-Germanism."

ment was started on that continent to develop the national spirit of the various peoples there, and to create national states based upon constitutional form of government. The French people established a democratic form of government and framed a constitution. Belgium seceded from Holland and established a government of her own. Spain, revolting, overthrew her absolute monarch and established a constitutional monarchy, based upon the sovereignty of the people. Italy shook off the shackles which were placed upon her hands and feet, and from a "mere geographical expression" developed into a constitutional monarchy. As we have seen, Hungary also attempted to overthrow the Hapsburg dynasty; but she was crushed under the heels of absolutism.

The most noteworthy development along nationalistic lines took place in Germany. In 1815 the Congress of Vienna divided up the territory occupied by the Germans into small states and principalities, and classified the German people as "whole souls" and "half souls." During the nationalistic movement and constitutional reconstruction period in Europe, the great aim of the German leading statesmen was to unify all the German territories into one national federation. The unification of Germany was effected and the founding of the German empire was completed, when on January 8th, 1871, William I, King of Prussia, was proclaimed German Emperor.

By the time the unification of Germany was accomplished, a remarkable advance was effected in Germany in the development of art, education, science, and industry. It was soon discovered that, with the aid of the enormous scientific development, the German industries were producing more products than the people of the country were able to consume. Therefore, it became necessary to seek foreign markets for the German industrial products.

At the very moment Germany began to seek a foreign

market for her industrial products, a question of far reaching international import arose. Germany had no colonies whereto she could export her goods. During the time England, France and other countries were obtaining their colonial possessions, the German people were engaged in international and domestic struggles. Hence, when united Germany sought foreign markets, she found that no more foreign territory, desirable for colonizing purposes, was left, and that international commerce, carried on the great seas, was controlled mainly by England. Thenceforth, an international commercial rivalry has existed between England and Germany.

The water routes on which Germany was plying her international commerce, and most of the colonies where she tried to market her products, were in the possession and under the control of England. The routes through the Suez Canal, at the Gibraltar and at the Straits of England were all under the direct control of England; and these were the only routes through which Germany could carry her overseas commerce. Germany, therefore, has never been independent and absolutely safe in her international commercial undertakings; for, at the command of English cannon, the overseas commerce of Germany was likely to be stopped. Therefore, in the true sense of the word, there was no freedom of the seas for Germany.

To insure her overseas commerce, Germany first began to build huge battleships. England, to insure her control of the high seas and the international commerce carried thereon, followed suit. The two nations were building battleships in a theretofore unheard of proportion, and taxed their peoples to the highest limit. Finally, however, it was discovered in Germany, that the number of battleships will not solve the question of unmolestable German international commerce.

The German government, therefore, sought to solve the question by building a railroad across Europe and

Turkey, and running it into Asia, terminating at Bagdad. The success of that undertaking could be assured only in the event that Germany was able to control Austria-Hungary, the Balkan States, and Turkey. If the railroad should be a success, Germany would have a short and unmolested route on which to carry her international commerce across Europe and through Turkey into Asia Minor, to the very gate of the English colonial possession in Asia. This route would be shorter and safer than the water route. By the control of that route, Germany would control the greatest part of the international commerce of the world, by being able to reach most of the world's population. Besides, the railroad to Bagdad would insure the military supremacy of Germany, both in Europe and Asia Minor. That proposed railroad was to be known as the Berlin-Bagdad Railroad.

England strenuously opposed this German plan, and with all her diplomatic skill strove to prevent its completion. English diplomacy was set to work to prevent the building of the Berlin-Bagdad railroad. It is greatly interesting to follow the ways of the English diplomacy and observe its incessant and methodical work.

Evidently it would have been suicidal for England to declare war against Germany and by that means attempt to prevent her from completing her important plan. For England might defeat Germany on the high seas, but no defeat could be hoped on land. Hence, the only means to defeat Germany's plan was to create enemies for Germany and make those enemies the allies of England. If Germany could be isolated and surrounded by enemies who were the allies of England, the German plan could not succeed.

The question was, then, "how to make enemies for Germany and isolate her among her enemies?" France was not friendly to Germany; nor did she have any special love for England. England, however, patched up her differences with France. Consequently, the two

countries entered into the *Entente Cordiale* in 1904. But England and France were no match for Germany, for the reason that the latter was fortified by the Triple Alliance consisting of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy. It was, therefore, the further plan of the English diplomacy to induce Russia to join the Alliance of England and France.

Russia was friendly neither to France, nor to England, nor to Germany, for the reason that all these powers had thwarted her plan to gain free access to the Mediterranean Sea. Though commanding an immense territory, rich in natural resources, Russia had no free and adequate outlet to the high seas. There were ports in the Arctic regions, but they were frozen and closed by ice during most of the year. Far to the east she had a port at Vladivostok; but that also was frozen and at the mercy of Japan. In the west Russia had ports on the Baltic Sea; but they were subject to freezing and were also at the mercy of Germany. In the south she had excellent ports on the Black Sea; but the outlet therefrom was through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles which were controlled by the Turks at Constantinople. Therefore the international commerce of Russia was at the mercy of England, France, Germany, Austria and Turkey.

Thus bottled up and her commerce being at the mercy of her more favorably situated neighbors, Russia sought, on several occasions, to gain a foothold at several adequate ports; but her attempts were always frustrated by the concerted opposition of England, France, Germany, and Austria. In 1877 Russia declared war upon Turkey under the still popular pretext that the Turks were "mistreating the Christians" in the Balkans. The real purpose, however, was to obtain control of Constantinople and thus gain an open sea port.

In the Russo-Turkish war the Russians were successful. The Russian dream of an ice-free port was nearly

realized. Turkey was compelled to sign a treaty in which she practically admitted that her control of Constantinople was shattered. By that treaty Russia became the controlling power in the Balkan countries. And the good Lord did then, as He always does, take care of the "Christians."

England promptly registered her protest against that treaty and, side-tracking the interest of the "Christians," immediately began to prepare for naval action near Constantinople. Austria followed suit and declared that Russia's ascendancy in the Balkans was objectionable to her. Germany, under cover, also objected to the increasing power and influence of Russia in the Balkans, for the reason that the control of the Balkans must fall into the hands of Germany if the German plan of the Berlin-Bagdad railroad was to be completed. In the face of this opposition, Russia was compelled to submit the treaty to a congress which met at Berlin on June 13, 1878.

Bismarck, the Chancellor of Germany, was elected president of the Congress of Berlin. Bismarck claimed that Germany had no territorial interest in the Balkans, therefore he could act as an "honest broker" between the contending parties. The outcome of the Congress was that Russia was stripped of all the advantages secured by her victory over the Turks, and Austria was given the right to administer Bosnia and Herzegovina, which the Russians took away from Turkey. Thus Russia was stripped of the fruit of her victory; while Austria, though not a participant in the war, was given an increase of power and influence in the Balkans. This was what Germany desired, and it was done in collaboration with England.

The accomplishment of the Congress of Berlin left Russia a sworn enemy of England, Germany and Austria. To provide against the possible aggression of Russia, Germany and Austria formed an alliance in 1879, and

in 1882 they were joined by Italy, thus forming the Triple Alliance. "The High Contracting Parties" of this alliance "were bound to stand by each other with all their armed forces if either one were attacked by Russia or by any other power supported by Russia."**

Defeated in her purpose in Europe, Russia tried to obtain an ice-free port in the warm waters of the Pacific Ocean at Port Arthur.

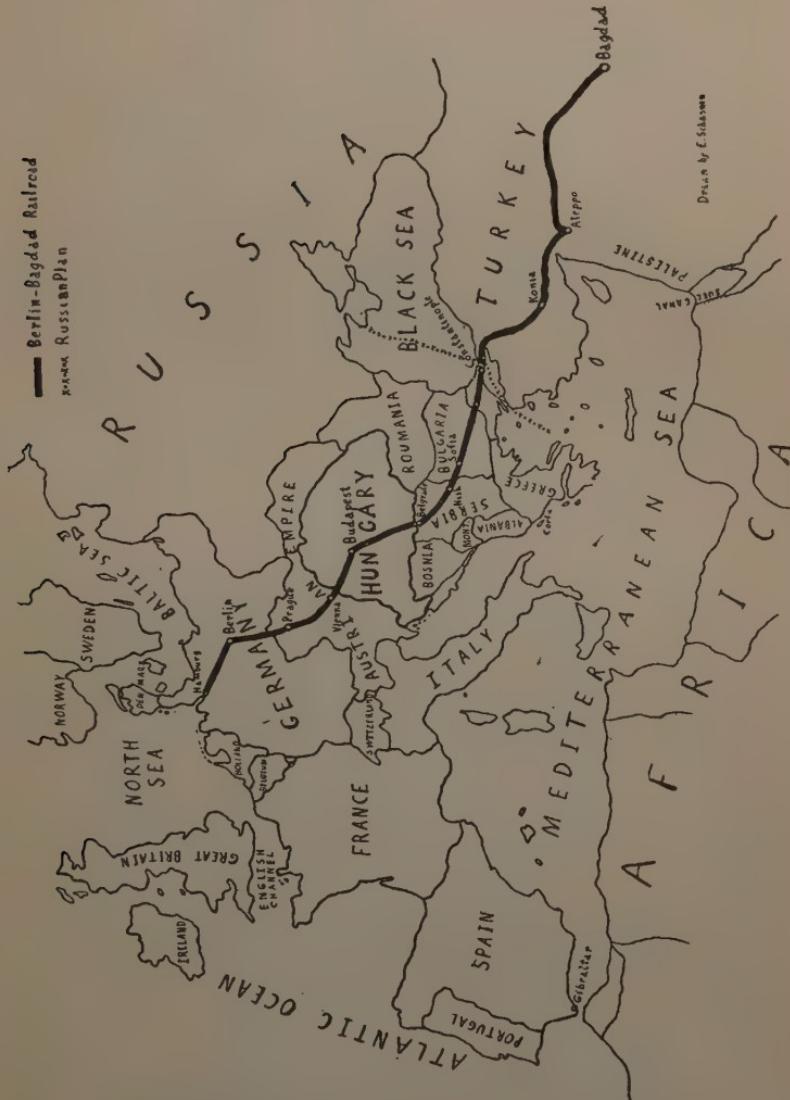
This was at the time "when apparently China was about to build the Trans-Siberian Railway (1891), which was to run from Moscow to Vladivostok on the Pacific. Russian expansionists dreamed of splendid possessions soon to be got from the dying Chinese empire, and the acquisition at least of an ice-free port."† But this dream of Russia was shattered in the Russo-Japanese war (1904-1905). Russia again was left without an ice-free port, but still desiring to obtain a suitable outlet to the Ocean.

The only place left where Russia might obtain an ice-free port was either in the Balkans or at Constantinople. To accomplish this, Russia would have to control the Balkans and also Constantinople. But the Berlin-Bagdad railroad also was to run through the Balkans and across the Bosphorus at Constantinople; and to assure the successful operation of that railroad it was necessary for Germany to control the Balkans and also Turkey. Thus the *German plan* of the Berlin-Bagdad railroad crossed the *Russian plan* of reaching the ocean either through the Bosphorus or the Balkans. It was, then, at the intersection of these two plans, where the vital commercial interests of Russia and Germany crossed each other. It followed, therefore, that the point of intersection, the Balkans, became the most dangerous spot in Europe. Being in-

**"Europe Since 1870," by E. R. Turner, Ph. D., p. 179.

†Ibid, p. 293.

terested that Constantinople and the Balkans should not fall into the control of either Germany or Russia, England took advantage of the situation. Playing upon



The Berlin-Bagdad Railroad and the pre-war boundary lines in Europe. Note the Russian Plan crossing the Berlin-Bagdad Railroad line at Constantinople.

the fears, prejudices and interests of Russia, England succeeded in bringing Russia into alliance with herself and France, thus forming the Triple Entente (1907).

Thus, from 1907 to 1914, Europe was divided into two powerful combinations. One, the Triple Entente, composed of England, France and Russia; the other, the Triple Alliance, composed of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy. The Triple Entente was safeguarding the British interests, to hold undisputed control of the world's overseas international commerce; while the Triple Alliance was safeguarding the completion of the German plan to free herself and her commerce from British control. Both groups armed themselves to the teeth.

Each of the two great combinations watched carefully every move made by the other. The six years intervening between 1908 and 1914 were full of tension and anxiety. Each of the groups, to use the conventional expression, carried a chip on its shoulder and virtually challenged the other group to "come on and start something." In 1908 the Triple Alliance accepted the challenge. Bosnia and Herczegovina were annexed to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, *in spite of the determined opposition of Hungary*, and in express violation of the terms of the treaty of Berlin (1878). The Triple Entente protested; but the Triple Alliance refused to discuss the matter which was "a fact already accomplished."

The strength of the Triple Alliance was further increased by an agreement reached between Germany and Russia, the latter being one of the members of the Triple Entente. In November, 1910, the Czar of Russia and the Emperor of Germany had lunch together at Potsdam. There an agreement was made between the two rulers by which Germany acknowledged the controlling position and influence of Russia in Persia. In return,

Russia withdrew her opposition to the German plan of building the Berlin-Bagdad railroad.*

This incident is of great historical interest. Two rulers who represented the vital interests of the countries which they ruled, instead of massing troops and guns to annihilate each other, sat down at a table. They lunched together, undisturbed by the clamor of commercial parasites and unprincipled war plotters, and calmly deliberated upon the interests of their peoples. So, during a brief lunch hour, the two rulers decided a matter of vital import which, afterward, all the armies and murderous guns and poison gases of the world could not decide in the terrible conflict lasting four years. This is a historical fact upon which the people of the world might ponder with some moral benefit. For, if war can be avoided by free and honest discussion of the causes thereof, is there any sound and acceptable reason for war?

The conflict which started in 1914 might have been avoided if England had acquiesced in the agreement made and concluded by the Czar and the Kaiser with reference to the Berlin-Bagdad railroad. But England would not brook a friendly relation between Russia and Germany. An economic alliance between Russia and Germany would have been disastrous to the power of England to control the world's commerce. Hence, England continued her plan of obstructing the German plan of the Berlin-Bagdad railroad. It appeared that the only certain method to bring Germany to her knees was war. Therefore the diplomacy of England set to work to prepare a pretext of some sort for a war that would test out the relative strength of the two opposing camps, the Triple Entente and the Triple Alliance.

The next attempt was to bring about a clash between France and Germany. But the French people did not want war. There was no indication that the people of

*E. R. Turner's "Europe Since 1870," p. 409.

Germany had any manifest desire for war. Therefore a desire for war had to be created in order to induce the peoples of those two countries to fight. With that purpose in view, a well planned propaganda was carried on in France and England. "In France there was going on steadily both a revival of courage and assurance and a great rebirth of national feeling. In Great Britain there was each year more vivid apprehension of possible danger from the greatness of the German empire, resolution to be under perpetual guard, and determination under no circumstances ever again to let France alone confront German aggression or suffer her to be crushed."* In spite of Russia's leaning toward Germany, a diplomatic flirtation was carried on with Russia by England, keeping before the eyes of Russia her possible advantages in the Balkans.

What English diplomacy wanted accomplished, it seemed, it did accomplish. England herself did not want to precipitate a war; she wanted France to do that. Therefore, in 1911, the "Morocco Crisis" was trumped up. The Morocco crisis was this: In 1906, in the Conference of Algeciras to which England and Germany were parties, France and Spain were jointly authorized to preserve order in Morocco. France was "permitted to occupy certain towns and maintain order"; but afterward "under pretext of policing the distracted country, she pushed an armed force farther and farther into Morocco." It appeared that Morocco was about to be reduced to French possession, which was specifically forbidden by the Conference of Algeciras. Germany promptly intervened. On July 1st, 1911, "without preliminary warning, it was announced that the German commercial interests in Morocco were being threatened, and that hence a German warship had been sent to the

*E. R. Turner's "Europe Since 1870," p. 410.

harbor of Agadir, on the Atlantic coast of Morocco, to protect them.”*

The people of France and England did not want war. They had no desire to support the French government in its attempt to occupy Morocco, in direct violation of her solemn agreement with the other powers, in which France agreed merely to “restore order” in, and not to occupy, Morocco. Yet “all the French fleet was concentrated in the Mediterranean, and Britain’s great fleet was ready in the Channel and in the North Sea.”†

While preparation for war was going at full speed, a conference at Paris was held, where Germany demanded a share in Morocco. France refused to give Germany a share; she wanted to keep it all. “France, supported by Great Britain, firmly refused to consider yielding to Germany any part of Morocco; if, however, Germany acknowledged the absolute political supremacy of France in Morocco, then France would cede to Germany about a third of the Congo territory of France.”‡

This happened in the summer of 1911, just three years before the outbreak of the World War in 1914. It is to be noted that no question was asked whether or not the people of Morocco or Congo would acquiesce in this bargain of their souls and bodies. The “commercial interests” of France and Germany were the paramount issue; and England was umpiring the game.

It was at this point of the history of Europe that International Commerce and International Finance demonstrated their power of making or not making war. Over the vehement protests of all the peoples who were called to do the actual fighting, the preparation for war went ahead methodically. The protests of the people were not heard; they were told that war was inevitable. On the other hand it was discovered that the politicians and

*E. R. Turner’s “Europe Since 1870,” p. 411.

†Ibid: p. 413.

‡Ibid: p. 414.

diplomats might prepare but could not carry on war without the consent and support of International Finance and International Commerce. These two great powers, the uncrowned, invisible rulers of Europe and, indeed, of the whole world, now stepped forward and commanded that the preparation for war should cease, and all the warlike excitement should subside. *International Commerce and International Finance were not ready for a general European war; and there was no war.*

This master stroke of these invisible rulers was just as simply done as it is written here. What happened was this: Germany by that time had worked up an immense home industry and international commerce. She had carried on a vast import and export trade, and she became the "middle man" of Europe. Her great industry and vast import and export and her international trade were built up on borrowed capital supplied mostly by French and English international financiers. That is to say, about ninety per cent (90%) of Germany's business was done on credit given by French and English international financiers.*

The invisible empire of finance was then made up of French and English financiers who were the creditors of the German financiers. These, in turn, were the debtor members of that invisible empire. This invisible empire of finance found that "the present opportunity" was "unfavorable" for war. Therefore a "financial mobilization" was started. The French and English financiers began "silently" calling in their loans from the German financiers, and the German financiers obligingly shipped their gold to France and England. Thus Germany was brought to the door of economic panic. The result was, therefore, that when the German Emperor called together the German financiers and asked them to prepare for war, they firmly told the emperor that there

*G. R. Usher's "Pan-Germanism," p. 162.

could not be and there should not be a war, because there was not enough money left in Germany to finance it. It followed, therefore, that the diplomats, without any further clash and brandishing of swords, cordially agreed to grant France the right to establish a "protectorate" over Morocco, guaranteeing to all nations equality of trade, and Germany was given a part of the Congo territory.

Thus, the diplomats had their round, and the Invisible Power obtained all it wanted in "equality of trade to all nations." The people who were directly affected by this high handed barter had nothing further to say. What right had the people in deciding the question of war? Their duty was not to ask questions but to fight or not to fight, as was decreed by the invisible rulers of the world.

"Theirs not to make reply,
"Theirs not to reason why,
"Theirs but to do or die."

Although the "opportunity" for a general war in Europe was then "unfavorable," it was "felt" everywhere in Europe that the war was coming; for war, when "the favorable opportunity" would present itself, was a profitable undertaking for International Commerce and International Finance. But, even though the people's desire for or opposition to war was an unimportant matter, a pretext had to be created for war. A pretext, however, could be manufactured only if the martial spirit in the two powerful camps, the Triple Alliance and Triple Entente, was constantly stirred in the caldron of agitation. The hatred of the Russians was fanned against the German people. The Berlin-Bagdad railroad of Germany had to be obstructed, and that could be done only by means of war.

The next opportunity to precipitate war came in 1912-1913, after the Balkan War broke out, and after Turkey

was overwhelmingly defeated. Servia emerged from that war flushed with victory, and insisted upon an extension of her territory to the Aegean Sea. But the extension of Servia's territory and power and influence in the Balkans would weaken the power and influence of Germany in the Balkans. Germany, Austria and Italy, therefore, remonstrated with equal determination to curb the aspiration of Servia for greater power and influence in the Balkans. Russia announced that she would help Servia in her contention. Mobilization was started in Russia and Austria. It appeared as if the inevitable war would break out. But the "opportunity" was still not "favorable" for war, so the crisis passed. Russia and Servia yielded, and the Triple Alliance came out victoriously from the controversy.

A great sigh of relief was felt among the people of Europe after this crisis had passed without an actual war. Men began to feel and believe that the most compelling international questions could be solved without resorting to war. Besides, each nation was armed so heavily that war seemed to be either an impossibility or else a means whereby one or the other would be completely annihilated in a short time. The people themselves did not want war. Yet, behind the screen, the invisible power was working methodically and incessantly to bring nearer the time when the "opportunity" for a general European war would be "favorable." Indeed, the underhanded agitation for war assumed such a proportion that Lord Welby, formerly the head of the Treasury of England, alarmingly exclaimed: "We are in the hands of an organization of crooks. These are politicians, generals, manufacturers of armaments, and journalists."^{*}

The danger spot, indeed the most dangerous spot in Europe, remained in the Balkans at the intersection of

*Quoted in F. Neilson's "How Diplomats Make War," p. 328.

the Russian plan and the German plan. If you draw a line from the Black Sea into the Mediterranean Sea, and another line from Berlin to Bagdad,—the one representing the Russian plan and the other the German plan,—you will find the point of intersection at Constantinople. The spot around that point of intersection has been and is at the present time the most dangerous spot in Europe. For the control of that spot more wars have been fought, more blood had been shed, more men had been killed



If you drawn a line from the Black Sea into the Mediterranean Sea, you will find at the intersection of the line with the Berlin-Bagdad Railroad, the most dangerous spot in Europe.—Drawn by Ed. Hollo.

and more misery had been caused than for the control of any other spot in the world. The Russo-Turkish war, the Balkan war, the World War, the Greco-Turkish war,—all these wars were fought for the control of that spot. For, as it has been stated in this book, the Power which will eventually control that spot will control most of the international commerce of the world.

The plan of the Triple Entente was now to disrupt the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and thus weaken Germany's hold in the Balkans around,—you remember,—

the intersection of the two lines. A wide spread propaganda was carried on by the Slavs in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. That propaganda was especially directed against Hungary, and the propagandists refrained from no atrocity. Referring to that propaganda, Francesco Nitti, ex-Prime Minister of Italy, declares that: "In the Balkans, especially in Serbia, Russia was pursuing a cynical and shameless policy of corruption, nourishing and exciting every ferment of revolt against Austria-Hungary. The Russian policy in Servia was really criminal."*

The central organization of the propaganda was in Servia. Agitators, politicians and even clergymen spread the poison of hatred against the Hungarians. The propaganda was carried into Hungary and took such a virulent form that the safety not only of private individuals but of officials and even of the State was endangered. During the last few years, before 1914, "the Russian rubles were rolling into Servia to carry on a destructive propaganda in Hungary."

The directors of the propaganda were not satisfied with merely keeping the Hungarians terrorized even in their own country, the purpose being to precipitate, and to create a pretext for, war. When it was found that terror, carried into the territory of Hungary, was not sufficient pretext for war, the propagandists resorted to plain murder.

The plan to murder was hatched in Servia by several high officials of the Servian government. Two demented young students were hired, carefully trained and supplied, out of the Servian government's arsenal, with the weapon of murder. On June 28th, 1914, while passing through the streets of Sarajevo, capital of Bosnia, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian and Hungarian thrones, was, together with his wife at his side, assassinated.

*Francesco Nitti's "The Wreck of Europe," p. 85.

According to an English publication, "John Bull," the murder of Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife cost the Servian government 2200 sterling; 2000 for the murder and 200 for expenses. The plot to murder was directed by the Secret Service connected with the Servian Legation at London, England. In its issue of July 11th, 1914, a month after the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, "John Bull" in an article exposed the murder plot and printed a photographic copy of a letter which was alleged to have been written on the official paper of the Servian Legation at London. In that letter the price for the murder was set forth. The article, accompanying the photographic copy of the letter, says, in part:

"We have always looked upon Servia as a hot bed of cold blooded conspiracy and subterfuge—the ringleaders being the scoundrels who compassed the assassination and destruction of the late king and queen of the country, and placed on the throne and nominally in power King Peter and his half demented son and who, during the Balkan war, was responsible for the massacre and the burning alive of women and children in Albania.

"And now comes a revelation which will startle Europe. It was decided by the regicide gang to "eliminate"—that was the brutal phrase—the heir to the Austrian throne, and a definite plan was laid with this object in view. Assassins were hired to carry out the work—2,000 sterling "and expenses" was the price—and although, of course, we must not, without evidence, implicate the staff of the Legation proper, we do assert that *the Servian Secret Service was actively at work, at the Legation, plotting the foul deed.* And we are in position to produce evidence of a character which, as we say, will stagger civilization."

"Now it happened that in the month of April the Servian Legation was being removed from Belgrade Mansion Hotel to Queen's Gate. In connection with the

removal it was decided to tear up and burn a large number of documents which it was considered unwise to preserve. Amongst such documents was one of the most incriminating character, and relating, as we shall show, to the projected murder of "F. F."—Francis Ferdinand, the Archduke.

"Never mind how, but we have come into possession of a portion of that document—rescued from the flames before its bloody story was ever lost. And here it is, photographed in facsimile, just as it appears. It is a part of an official sheet of the Legation paper, with its embossed address, and just sufficient of the date can be read to fix it as on the 5th of April. It is in the private code of the Secret Service. That fact, however, presents no insuperable difficulty, for we happen to have also in our possession the cypher code of the Secret Service, and with the aid of this and other special information, we find that the document decodes first into crude Spanish—which may be rendered roughly as follows:

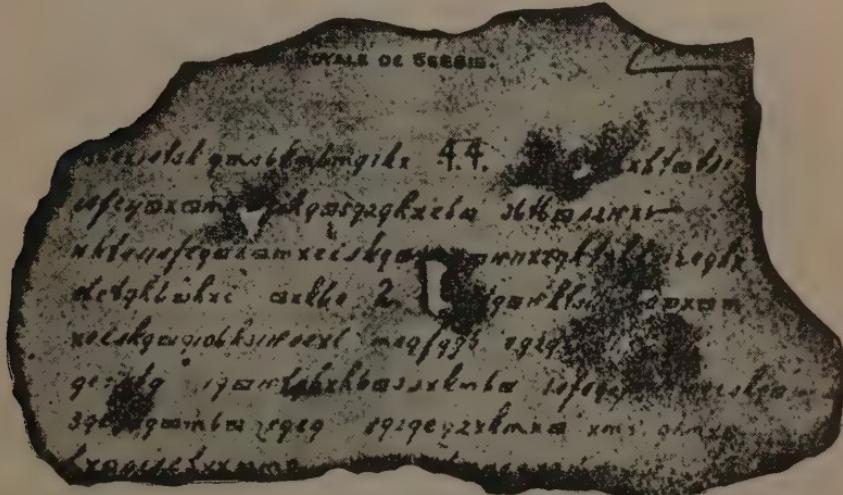
'Por elimination total de. F. F. la summa de dos mil libras esterlinas pagaderos como sigue Un mil libras esterlinas a su llegado en Belgrade por manos del Señor G. Y. to demás un mil libras esterlinas al concluir el trabajo pagaderos Como Arriba. La summa de doscientas libras esterlinas para gastos y para pagar agentes, etc. Antes de salir de esta. Los orreglos tuyas no'—

"And translating this into English we get—

'For the total elimination of F. F. The sum of £2000, sterling paid as follows—£1,000 on your arrival in Belgrade by the hands of Mr. G. and the rest of £1,000 on finishing the work paid as above. The sum of £200 for

expenses and to pay agents, etc., before you leave here.
Your arrangement do not—", "/*

Need there be clearer and more convincing evidence to show that the murder of Francis Ferdinand was the result of a concerted and international plot? And when it is remembered that Servia was being used by the Triple Entente, through Russia, as a means of stirring up trouble and dissension in Austria-Hungary, it becomes forcefully evident that the ultimate motive behind the plot was to precipitate war.



Fac-simile of the murder letter, as printed in "John Bull," and reprinted in "The American Monthly," June, 1922.—Reprinted here by courtesy of "The American Monthly."

The limit of the underhanded struggle between the Triple Entente and the Triple Alliance had been reached. The news of the brutal assassination of the Archduke and his wife was flashed to every corner of the earth. With that news the conviction was spread everywhere that the time had arrived for the carefully plotted general war in Europe. *The French and English financiers did not hasten to bring about a "financial mob-*

*"John Bull," July 11th, 1914, reprinted in "The American Monthly," June, 1922.

ilization," as they did three years prior to the murder. *The Invisible Power* had now no objection to war. The "favorable opportunity" had arrived. War was in the air and war had to come. The clanking of the swords reverberated in the air. The war plotters shouted war into every ear. The very air was poisoned with the ghastly odor of war. Old and gray-haired Europe went insane, and feverishly prepared for her own suicide.

The German Emperor and the Russian Czar, those "nominal rulers and terror stricken dummies," frantically appealed to each other to help avert the impending war. The statesmen and diplomats of the countries in which preparation for war was feverishly made kept the wires hot, appealing to and threatening one another to come to some agreement, whereby the portentous war clouds might be dispersed and the imminent catastrophe be averted. But International Finance and International Commerce had already balanced their accounts. The "opportunity" for a general European war was, at last, "favorable." No "financial mobilization" was resorted to, so that the army organizations of the various countries might have ample financial support. As Lloyd George has said, the "nominal rulers and terror stricken dummies" could not avert the war. *Regardless of "whatever emperors, kings, diplomatists or statesmen said, thought or intended," there had to be war. The uncrowned and invisible rulers of Europe decreed that there should be war, and there was war.*

In the light of the foregoing historical facts, it is evident that, as Lloyd George has said, "no one at the head of affairs quite meant war"; the various PEOPLES of Europe did not want war; the crowned rulers of Europe were merely "nominal rulers" and "terror stricken dummies"; the "relentless military organizations," the armies of the chief European countries, were the real and controlling powers in Europe; the crowned rulers were helpless; the civil governments were power-

less; but the military organizations, the armies, and the navies, were in complete control of the situation. It is clear that behind the armies and navies were the uncrowned, invisible rulers,—the international financiers of Europe. When the international financiers decreed that there should be no war, they enforced their decree by a “financial mobilization”; and there was no war, regardless of the desires or intentions of the crowned rulers and civil governments. But, when the “favorable opportunity” had arrived, the armies and navies of Europe were ready to fight, regardless of the efforts put forth by the crowned “nominal rulers,” “terror stricken dummies,” and civil governments of Europe. The *Invisible Power*,—the international financiers,—was behind the armies and navies. It is they, who were behind those armies and navies, upon whose shoulders rests the responsibility for the world war. It is they upon whose heads rests the blood of the millions of dead and millions of dying. It is they who, in the light of history, stand, in the Court of Justice of Christian Civilization, convicted of having engineered and caused the world war, and of having thrown the world into unprecedented calamity.

XVII.

IS THE HUNGARIAN NATION RESPONSIBLE FOR THE WORLD WAR?

When the news of the murder of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and of his wife reached Vienna, the government of the Dual Monarchy was thrown into a pandemonium. An immediate investigation of the murder was begun. It was found that the murder was plotted in Belgrade, capital of Servia, and that several high military officials were implicated in the plot. Prior to the murder it was known that Servia was the hotbed of revolutionary agitation directed against Austria-Hungary; and it was now believed that the assassination of the Archduke and his wife was the culmination of "this subversive agitation which led to a series of outrages against Austrian and Hungarian officials."*

The "Joint Ministerial Conference" of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was called into session to decide upon the course to be pursued toward Servia. It became evident at once that the atmosphere was warlike and "a settling of accounts with Servia" was demanded.

In the Conference, Hungary was represented by one man only, Count Stephen Tisza, the Premier of Hungary. He put forth a strenuous effort to tone down the feelings and warlike attitude of his colleagues; but in that effort he was alone and outvoted. On July 1, 1914, reporting to the Emperor of Austria with reference to "settling accounts with Servia," Count Tisza said: "I have not dissimulated towards Count Berchtold (Austrian Joint Minister of Foreign Affairs) that in my

*Diplomatic Documents Relating to the "Outbreak of European war."

opinion this would be a fatal mistake in which I by no means would share the responsibility."* In his opinion, "an adequate diplomatic success, implying a strong humiliation of Servia, would be sufficient."†

Against Count Tisza, the Premier of Hungary, there were Count Berchtold, an Austrian, the Joint Minister of Foreign Affairs; Chevalier de Bilinski, a Pole, the Joint Minister of Finance; Baron Konrad, an Austrian, Chief of the General Staff; Kailer, an Austrian, Rear Admiral; Count Stürgkh, Austrian Premier; Krobatin,, a Slav, Joint Minister of War. In exact proportion, there were six for war and one, the Hungarian Premier, against war.

At the Ministerial Council, held at Vienna on July 7, 1914, Count Berchtold, the Austrian, Joint Minister of Foreign Affairs, boldly declared that it was necessary "to forestall our adversaries, and by a timely settling of accounts with Servia to stop the developments now in course, a proceeding which may become impossible at a later date." This meant war with Servia.

Count Tisza, the Hungarian Premier, promptly objected to any warlike attitude, and resolutely resisted any attempt of aggression against Servia. He insisted upon resorting to diplomacy and settling the controversy by peaceable means. While he considered the necessity of putting demands to Servia, Count Tisza insisted that "these demands might be severe ones, yet not impossible ones."‡

To these arguments and appeals to reason, put forth by Count Tisza, Chevalier de Bilinski retorted that "the decisive struggle was, sooner or later, unavoidable." "If," said Bilinski, the Pole, "the Royal Hungarian Minister would content himself for the present with a diplomatic success, I could not."§ Baron Konrad, Chief of the

*Austrian Red Book, 1919.

†Ibid.

‡Minutes of July 7, 1914, Austrian Red Book, 1919.

§Austrian Red Book, 1919.

General Staff, Rear Admiral Kailer, Count Stürgkh, Premier of Austria and Krobatin, a Slav, Minister of War,—all in chorus supported Count Berchtold, the Austrian, in his contention that the “settling of accounts with Serbia” must come. Count Tisza, the Hungarian Premier, stood alone, outvoted and defeated in his efforts to avert war. Then over the protest of the Premier of Hungary, the following resolution was passed, that:

“All present, *with the exception of the Royal Hungarian Prime Minister*, are of the opinion that a diplomatic success alone, even if implying a signal humiliation of Servia, would have no value; and that, therefore, such far-going demands should be formulated towards Serbia as would make their refusal presumable, with a view of preparing the way for a radical solution through military intervention.”*

The government at Vienna turned a deaf ear toward the protests and appeals of Count Tisza, the official spokesman of Hungary. Hungary had only one voice, one vote, which was lost in the insistent howling of the opposition for war. Count Berchtold, the Joint Minister of Foreign Affairs, had most of his land properties in Bohemia and had no sympathy for Hungary and for her ancient traditions, which were to live in peace with her neighbors and not to provoke war and not to conquer or annex to Hungary other people’s territory. Throughout their national existence of one thousand and more years, the Hungarians always respected the property and political rights of others, demanding at the same time that others respect the property and political rights of the Hungarians. It was this ancient Hungarian tradition which Count Tisza, the Premier of Hungary, represented; but it was rejected by the Joint Ministerial Council at Vienna.

When the question of war upon and annexation of

*Austrian Red Book, 1919.

Servia was discussed by the Ministerial Council at Vienna, Count Tisza declared that "as Premier of Hungary, he could never consent to the annexation of any part of Servia." He further declared on July 19, 1914, that "the Ministerial Council would have to resolve unanimously that no designs of conquest are connected with the action of the Monarchy against Servia, and that, apart from adjustments of the frontiers justified by strategic considerations, it is not intended to annex any portion of Servia. He must insist upon such a resolution being carried unanimously." Again, "at the close of the discussion, the Royal Hungarian Prime Minister (Count Tisza), reiterated his point of view regarding the question of war, and renewed his appeal to all present to consider this decision very carefully."*

Thus did Hungary, through her official representative, Count Tisza, remonstrate against war, insisting that the Hungarian point of view be considered, nay even humbly appealing "to all present to consider their decision very carefully." But all was in vain. Count Berchtold, the chief of the war mongers, retorting to the appeals of Count Tisza, said that he, (Count Berchtold) "being responsible for the foreign policy of the Monarchy, must reckon with the possibility, that the conditions confronting us at the end of the war may be such as to make it impossible for us to abstain from annexation, if we would provide on our frontiers better conditions than there are at present."

The Hungarian Premier again opposed the policy announced by Count Berchtold and, even braving the displeasure of the government at Vienna and throwing his office in the balance, declared at the same session that "The Royal Hungarian Premier declares that he cannot admit the reservations of Count Berchtold, and in view

*Austrian Red Book, 1919.

of his responsibility as Hungarian Premier must insist upon his point of view.”*

Despite the efforts of Hungary to avert war, the government at Vienna, on the 24th day of July, 1914, sent to the Servian government a note containing ten demands. In that note the Servian government was told that the hostile attitude of Servia toward Austria-Hungary must cease and that murder must not be employed, with impunity, in political strife. It was charged that the murder of Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife was plotted by and executed with the knowledge and upon the instruction of several high military officials of the Servian government. It was, therefore, demanded that the Servian government should remove from office the guilty officials “whose names and deeds the Austro-Hungarian government reserve to themselves the right of communicating”; and that the guilty parties be brought to trial before the tribunal in which the Austro-Hungarian government should be represented.

The note was stern enough; but it did not cut off all the avenues to an amicable settlement of the controversy, provided there was no desire for war. When M. Poincaré, President of France, was told of the demands contained in the note to Servia, “he expressed his firm conviction that the Servian government would lend Austria-Hungary every assistance in the judicial investigation and prosecution of persons suspected as accomplices.” He added: “No State could evade such duty.”†

Servia did not yield, nor could she have yielded to the demands. The question of war or no war was not the concern of Servia; it was a matter which was already decided by the Invisible Powers behind closed screens. Servia was merely a tool in the hands of the powers that wanted to decide whether or not the German plan of the

*Austrian Red Book, 1919.

†Count Széchen to Berchtold, July 4, 1914, Diplomatic Documents Relating to the Outbreak of European War. B. Scott, Part 1.

Berlin-Bagdad railroad should be completed. To bring Servia to terms and to convince her that murder was not the proper way of settling political disputes,

. "you may as well
"Forbid the sea for to obey the moon."*

The question upon which the destiny of Europe hinged was: What would happen if Servia should yield? The answer was that if Servia yielded, Germany would secure in the Balkans the supremacy for which she had long striven, and the Berlin-Bagdad railroad would then be completed. The Triple Entente would not consent to such advantage to Germany; and, therefore, Servia could not yield.

It was evident that Servia was no match for Austria-Hungary; and no one knew it better than Servia. But she could depend upon Russia, and Russia could depend upon the Triple Entente. On the other hand, Austria-Hungary could not hope to withstand successfully the combined military power of Servia and Russia; but Austria-Hungary could depend upon Germany. Russia and Germany, the Triple Entente and the Triple Alliance had an account to settle. The controversy between Austria-Hungary and Servia was lost sight of and the question was: "What will Russia, Germany, France and England do?" The Russian Czar, on July 27, 1914, said: "Russia will in no case disinterest herself in the fate of Servia." Germany said "with certainty," on July 5, 1914, that "Germany will stand behind her (Austria-Hungary) as an ally and friend." France, on August 1, 1914, said: "France would do that which her interest dictated."† England virtually challenged Germany: "You violate the neutrality of Belgium, and I will fight."

There was no genuine and honest intention on the part of the *Invisible Power* to avoid war. On July 28,

*Winter's Tale.

†Turner's "Europe Since 1870," pp. 443 and 444.

1914, the Austro-Hungarian government declared war against Servia. By that time the mobilization of the Russian army was well under way. On July 31st, 1914, the German government began to mobilize its army; and on August 1st, 1914, Germany declared war on Russia, and two days later on France. On August 4th, 1914, England entered into the conflict. Thus, within a week, Europe was enveloped in the terrible conflagration which fiendishly raged four years.

Italy, though an ally of Austria-Hungary and Germany, turned against her allies and joined the Triple Entente. Roumania joined the Triple Entente. Japan also took arms against the Triple Alliance. Finally, on the 6th day of April, 1917, the United States of America declared war against Germany and entered the conflict "to make the world safe for democracy."

The foregoing historical facts are submitted to the reader as an evidence to show that the Hungarian Nation had earnestly tried and struggled to avoid the outbreak of the World War. Hungary, in 1914, when the World War broke out, was under the control of Austria and at the mercy of the Austrian, Czech, Polish and Slavic political leaders of Austria. It is evident from the minutes of the Joint Ministerial Council, that Hungary had no voice in the final decision of the Austrian, Czech, Polish and Slavic political leaders for war. Hungary's relation to Austria was somewhat similar to the relation of Ireland to England; and, as has been shown, in spite of her vigorous protest against war, Hungary was no more able to avert the outbreak of the war than Ireland was able to prevent England from entering the conflict. It is evident, therefore, to any fair and unprejudiced mind, that the Hungarian Nation is not responsible for causing or starting the World War.

XVIII.

THE AIMS AND PURPOSES IN THE WORLD WAR

In the preceding chapters we have shown that the Hungarian Nation is not responsible for causing or starting the World War; but that the responsibility for causing and starting the World War rests upon the shoulders of International Finance and International Commerce. We shall now proceed to show that the aims and purposes in the World War were:

1. To obtain full and absolute control of the international commerce and international finance of Europe and Asia, if not also that of the United States of America.
2. To prevent the completion of the Berlin-Bagdad Railroad.
3. To lengthen the period for the duration of the World War, so that certain groups of international financiers, industrial barons and international families could exploit the people of the warring countries, and thus make money and amass large fortunes.
4. The World War was fought not "to make the world safe for democracy," but to make millions of people industrial slaves for countless generations to come.

The reader will remember that the German project of the Berlin-Bagdad Railroad threatened England's supremacy in international commerce and finance. Up to the time the World War broke out, Germany was at the mercy of England, both in carrying her international commerce and financing her home industries. If, however, Germany had succeeded in building the transcontinental railroad (Berlin-Bagdad Railroad), she would have become the most powerful controller of in-

ternational commerce, and, naturally and logically, she would have become the center of international finance. This, of course, would have resulted in the decline of England as an international commercial and industrial center.

At the outbreak of and during the World War, in the countries of the Triple Entente—England, France, Russia and, afterward in the United States of America,—the war cry of the propagandists was to the effect that we must fight, in order to keep the German Kaiser from ruling over the world,—to preserve the neutrality of Belgium,—to save France,—and “to make the world safe for democracy.” The peoples of these countries were told that these were the aims and purposes in the World War. If, however, we examine the official acts of the countries of the Triple Entente, we shall find the true aims and purposes in the World War, namely, to obtain full and absolute control of the international commerce and international finance of Europe and Asia, if not also that of the United States of America.

On April 26th, 1915, about eight months after the outbreak of the World War, the Powers of the Triple Entente held a conference at London, England, and entered into the “Secret Treaty of London,” in which Treaty the chief aims and purposes in the World War were clearly outlined. In that “Secret Treaty” Europe and a part of Asia were divided among the countries of the Triple Entente, a part of the booty to be given to those countries which would desert the countries of the “Triple Alliance.” The London Conference proceeded to divide up Europe and Asia, as follows:

England was to receive:

1. “The neutral zones of Persia.
2. “Southern Mesopotamia and Bagdad.
3. “Haifa and Akka in Syria.
4. “A portion of the German Colonies.

France was to receive:

1. "Syria.
2. "The vilayet of Adana and other extended territories in Asia Minor, including a part of the Armenian border, where are the oil fields of *Mosul*.
3. "Alsace-Lorraine and the Saar Valley with *all the mining district* and the whole of the old Duchy of Lorraine.
4. "Temporary occupation of the left bank of the Rhine, with permission to make a buffer state and fix such boundaries as she pleased.
5. "A part of the German Colonies.

Italy was to receive:

1. "The Trentino.
2. "The county of Gorizia and Gradisca.
3. "Triest and Istria.
4. "A generous share of the Dalmatian coasts.
5. "The Island of the Istrians and Dalmatian coasts.
6. "Valona and its neighborhood.
7. "The Islands of the Dodecanese.
8. "Smyrna and its hinterland (this was changed to Adalian and a part of Asia Minor later).
9. "New colonial territories in compensation for the German colonies which Great Britain and France should receive.

Roumania was to receive (from Hungary) :

1. "Transylvania up to the river Tisza.
2. "The Bánát of Témesvár.
3. "The Bukovina.

Russia was to receive:

1. "Constantinople and nearly the whole of Turkey in Europe. (At last!)
2. "The Bosphorus, the Dardanelles and the Sea of Marmora.
3. "The Islands of Imbors and Tenedos in the Aegean at the mouth of the Dardanelles.
4. "Full liberty of action in North Persia, including Ispahan and Yezd.

5. "Trebizond, Erzerum, Van Bitlis and other territories or Asia Minor.

6. "A free hand in making the Russian western boundary.

Servia and Montenegro were to receive:

1. "The South Coasts of Dalmatia.
2. "Spalato, Ragusa, Cattaro, and St. John of Medua in Albania.

3. "The eventual annexation of North Albania."*

This division of Europe and of Asia would, as it did, after the Peace Conference of Paris had put that secret treaty into full effect, give to the Entente Powers full and absolute economic, industrial and financial control of the whole of Europe and of a part of Asia. The coal fields, the iron fields, the oil and natural gas fields, and the most important industries would, as they did, fall into the direct or indirect control of the Entente Powers. This, as a matter of course, would be, as it was, followed by the control of industrial productions, the marketing of those productions; hence, the same Powers would, as they now do, control the international finance which finances this colossal undertaking of world control.

This gigantic operation of world control concerns the people of the United States of America in various ways. After the Peace Conference of Paris had virtually ratified the Secret Treaty of London and had acceded to the wishes and desires of the Entente Powers and of the international financial, industrial and commercial barons protected by the Entente Powers, the American industries and international commerce had reached a rather low level. It is now an open secret that the international commerce of the United States of America is, to an unduly great extent, at the mercy of the financial, industrial and commercial uncrowned kings of the Triple Entente Powers. This was one of the aims and pur-

*John J. Bass's "The Peace Tangle," pp. 13-14.

poses of the World War. The present generation needs no further proof of this fact.

To indicate the decided American view, as to the question, whether the World War was fought "to make the world safe for democracy," and as to how American international finance became involved in and depended upon the aims and purposes of the secret treaty makers at London, we quote here a statement which is reported to have been made by the Honorable John G. Hylan, Mayor of New York:

"At the outbreak of the European war, the firm of J. P. Morgan & Co. had about \$300,000,000 invested in foreign securities, principally British. The collapse of the British Empire would have entailed the impoverishment of the house of Morgan. These investments as well as other foreign investments of the international bankers needed the protection of the United States government. These bankers saw to it that this protection was extended through the strong arms of our army and navy. And so *we have a rich man's war and a poor man's fight.*"*

A careful examination of the provisions of the Secret Treaty of London and also of the map of Europe and of Asia, showing how those two continents were cut up and divided among the Triple Entente Powers, will reveal clearly and unmistakably the purpose to prevent the completion of the Berlin-Bagdad Railroad. Bagdad, where the transcontinental railroad was planned to terminate, was assigned to England. Constantinople and the Dardanelles where the railroad was to cross into Turkey, as well as nearly the whole of Turkey in Europe, were assigned to Russia. The Balkan countries, through which the railroad was to run, were cut up and assigned to various countries. Thus, if the Secret Treaty of London could be, as it afterward was, put into effect, the

*Quoted in the "American Monthly," April, 1922.

completion of the Berlin-Bagdad Railroad would be, as it afterward was, completely obstructed.

The Secret Treaty of London was kept a secret, so far as the peoples of the Triple Entente were concerned. The reason for this secrecy is obvious. If the English, French and Russian people knew why they were fighting and sacrificing their lives, the war plotters in those countries would have had great difficulties in inducing their peoples to fight. So far as the English, French and Russian people knew, they were fighting to prevent the German Kaiser from obtaining "a place in the sun"—to preserve the neutrality of Belgium, and, finally, "to make the world safe for democracy." Who would have cared to fight and sacrifice his life, merely in order to prevent the completion of a transcontinental railroad in Europe?

But the secret of the Treaty of London,—the whole of that treaty—was transmitted from London to Germany. The Germans and their allies had to have some reason to hate the English people and their allies; and the controlling Power behind the Triple Entente saw to it that such reason was furnished to German war mongers. The terms of the Secret Treaty of London were published in Germany and in the countries allied with her; and those peoples were justly and truly told that the Triple Entente planned to take away from them their homes and countries. An American writer writes concerning this dishonorable duplicity of the Triple Entente in the following language:

"Carefully hidden from the peoples of the Entente, the secret treaties were published and discussed far and wide in the Central Empires (Germany, etc.) They were used by Pan-Germanists and the militarists to revive the energy of the people in the hour of depression. Whenever the peace party in Germany seemed to be gaining ground, or whenever they showed lassitude, the militarists brandished these treaties, and with them rallied the

public opinion to their support. They could use the secret treaties to show with apparent finality that they were fighting a war of self-defense against imperialists who desired the dismemberment and destruction of Germany and her allies.”*

Francesco Nitti, ex-Prime Minister of Italy, openly states that: “The Italian people had always been kept in ignorance of the principles established in the London agreement.” He adds further that: “One of the men chiefly responsible for the American policy openly complained to me that when the United States came into the war, no notification was given them of the London agreement in which were defined the future condition of part of Europe.”†

It is clear, therefore, that the peoples of the warring countries, the Germans as well as the English, French, Italians, Russians, Austro-Hungarians and Americans were equally misled and humbugged by the war mongers who had commercial and industrial aims. Even President Woodrow Wilson admitted this, while *“He Kept Us Out of War.”* On February 1, 1915, he said in his speech at Des Moines: “Every nation now engaged in this titanic struggle on the other side of the water believes, with an intensity of conviction that cannot be exaggerated, that it is fighting for its rights, and in most instances that it is fighting for its life, and we must not be too critical of the men who lead those nations.”‡ After he had decided to “save the world for democracy,” President Woodrow Wilson, referring to the World War, said at St. Louis on September 5th, 1919: “This war, in its inception, was a commercial and industrial war. It was not a political war.”§ It was a war waged, among other

*John F. Bass’s “The Peace Tangle,” pp. 21 and 22.

†Nitti’s “The Wreck of Europe,” pp. 70-71.

‡Quoted in J. K. Turner’s “Shall It Be Again?” p. 426.

§Quoted *Ibid.*, p. 426.

things, to prevent the completion of the Berlin-Bagdad Railroad.*

In addition to the attempt on the part of the Invisible Power behind the Triple Entente to obtain full and absolute control of international commerce and finance, and to prevent the completion of the Berlin-Bagdad Railroad, the Invisible Power aimed and purposed, and succeeded, to lengthen the duration of war, so as to gain a sufficiently long time to make money out of the misery of the millions of fighting men and millions of suffering women and children. The World War was prolonged from six months to four years for no other reason, than to afford a profitable opportunity for certain groups of international financiers, for a certain group of international industrial barons, and for a few international families. This statement is being supported by sordid and by truly astounding facts.

The war could not last more than six months without an adequate supply of iron and coal for both Germany and France. If the Germans had been disturbed in their iron mining districts and the French in their coal mining districts, and thus the supply of iron on the one side, or the supply of coal on the other side had been cut off, the world would have been spared the enormous sacrifice of life, misery and suffering which the World War entailed. Indeed, in May, 1915—less than a year after the war broke out—the six great industrial and agricultural associations of Germany, in a confidential report, advised Chancellor Bethmann-Hollweg of Germany that “if the production of the Lorraine iron ore was disturbed, the war would be practically lost.” Engerand, a member of the French Chamber of Deputies, says that the German metallurgists had frequently declared during the World War, that if the German ore mines were attacked by the

*See Turner's “Europe Since 1870,” the chapter on Causes of the Great War,” pp. 421 and 446.

French army, the "war would have been finished in six months with the defeat of Germany."*

The most important iron mines and smelters of both countries, Germany and France, were on both sides of the pre-war boundary line, separating the two countries. In the province of Lorraine, which was on the German side of the boundary line, the Germans mined in 1913 80 per cent of their entire output of iron. In the Basin of Briey, in the department of Meurthe-et-Moselle, on the French side of the boundary line, France mined in 1913, 92 per cent of her entire output of iron. At the time the war broke out, the Basin of Briey was French territory and it was possessed by France.†

On the day before Germany declared war upon France, in 1914, a German army invaded the Basin of Briey. The French government immediately ordered the French army to withdraw from the Briey section. Thus, without encountering any resistance, the Germans seized that important French iron field and held possession of and exploited it until, late in 1919, the American army dislodged the Germans therefrom.‡

The principal coal mines of France were in the Basin of Bruay in the department of Pas-de-Calais, where, during the war, 28,000 tons of coal was mined daily by the French.

Between the iron field held by Germany, and the iron smelters and coal mines held by France, a military front, known as the "Lorraine front," was established. A German army dug itself in immediately in front of the German iron mines and smelters. A French army entrenched itself in front of the French smelters and iron mines. From their front line the French soldiers could see the German smelters in which raw material was be-

*Quoted in Clarence K. Streit's "Where Iron Is, There Is the Fatherland," pp. 4 and 33.

†Ibid, p. 2.

‡Ibid, p. 35.

ing made, which was destined to kill French soldiers. The German soldiers could see from their front line the French smelters which were preparing iron with which German soldiers were to be killed. The French coal mines were 15 to 17 kilometers (about 8 or 9 miles) behind the Lorraine front. During the war, until the American troops were sent into this front, it is said, not one man was killed on that front. "At one place along that front there was a little wine shop in No Man's Land. The French used to patronize it during the day, while the Germans would get their liquor there at night."* Thus, at the front where, in less than six months, the war could have been "finished," perfect quiet reigned. There, in full view of the German and French soldiers, on both sides of No Man's Land, the iron smelters of both countries, Germany and France, were working at full blast preparing the raw material from which were manufactured the ammunition with which millions of men were maimed, mangled and killed at the more active fronts.

Undoubtedly it would have been the economic and national interest of the French *People* to have the Germans dislodged from their iron mines and thus bring about a general peace within six months from the beginning of the war. Indeed, General Sarrail of France, who apparently was not initiated into the mysteries of war, thought that the Germans should be driven out of their coal mines and thus peace should be reestablished. In 1914 he prepared a plan of attack which, if successful, would have given the French possession of the Briey Basin. However, he was told by the French General Staff, that it was too difficult to manoeuvre in that district, although the Germans found no difficulty in advancing in that same district 14 kilometers in two days.

The General Staff of France apparently was eager to assure the peace and tranquility of the Germans in their

*Ibid., p. 1.

iron mines and smelters. To prevent General Sarrail from disturbing the Germans, he was removed from the command of that front and was replaced by the more complaisant General Gerard. What a mean courtesy it would have been on the part of the French army to disturb, or still worse, to dislodge the Germans from their peaceful mining of the French iron and manufacturing it into weapons with which the French soldiers were to be killed! "It is only for the poor devils, that war is not a gentlemen's agreement."*

Three years after the world war broke out, it was decided by the French to attack the Germans in the Briey Basin and drive them out of the iron mines. Even the French Grand General Staff approved the plan. The plan of attack was drawn up under the direction of a French Lieutenant, Lejune, who was to direct and command the bombing operation against the Germans. The attack, however, was never started. When, in 1919, the French House of Deputies investigated the matter, it was found that Lieutenant Lejune, although a soldier, was in the employ of the French Steel Trust.†

Deputy Barthe of the French Chamber of Deputies, on January 24th, 1919, declared in the Chamber: "*I affirm that either by the fact of the international solidarity of the great metallurgy companies, or in order to safeguard private business interests our military chiefs were ordered not to bombard the establishments of the Briey Basin which were being exploited by the enemy during the war. I affirm that our aviation service received instruction to respect the blast furnaces in which the enemy steel was being made, and that the general who wished to bombard them was reprimanded.*"‡

Instead of attacking the French in the coal field, about

*Pierre Renaudel, member of the French Chamber of Deputies.
Quoted: *Ibid*, p. 45.

†*Ibid*, p. 41.

‡*Ibid*, p. 46.

15 miles distant from the German front line, the Germans trained their long range guns upon Paris which was 120 kilometers from their line; and, then, virtually passed by the French coal mines, marched 35 miles and attacked Verdun, with a grawsome result.

Why were not the iron ore mines, which were held and operated by the Germans, and the coal mines, which were held and operated by the French, attacked by either the French or the Germans? If the Germans could not hold out more than six months without the iron ore which was mined in the Basin of Briey, why did not the French drive the Germans out of the iron fields? If the coal which was mined by the French in the Basin of Bruay was so vital to the French in their conduct of the war, why did not the Germans dislodge the French from the coal field? Why did the German army virtually pass by the French coal mines and march thirty-five miles to attack Verdun, where no material gain could be—and none was—obtained, but where a million of men were killed and so mangled that eight hundred thousand of them could not be identified? Why did not the Germans attack the French coal mines at the Basin of Bruay which was but 8 or 9 miles distant from the German line, and in which 28,000 tons of coal were mined daily for the French army? Why, instead of bombarding these mines 8 or 9 miles distant from their lines, did the Germans bombard Paris which was 120 kilometers distant from the German line and there kill unprotected men, women and children? Why did both armies maim, kill, and horribly mangle millions of men, if the war could have been stopped by shutting off the iron ore from the Germans or the coal supplies from the French? Why was the war continued, if it could have been stopped?

The answer,—aye the cruel answer—to these questions is that, if the German mine owners could not mine their iron ore in the Basin of Briey, and if the French mine owners could not mine their coal in the Basin of Bruay,

the war could not be continued and the owners of the blast furnaces and of the ammunition factories, and a lot of other human leeches, could not continue reaping their enormous profits! For these human leeches the World War was a paying business only as long as it was being fought. If the means wherewith the war was fought were not supplied, there could be no war; and, if there was no war, there was no profit from war. Therefore, to make a profit from war, there had to be war; and there could be war only in case there were weapons of war. Weapons of war were manufactured from iron and, if there was no iron, no weapons of war could be manufactured. How could the great Krupp ammunition factories operate and make ammunition with which the French soldiers were killed by the millions, if the French army had prevented the German mine owners from mining their iron ore? If iron was to be mined and if the Krupp factories were to make ammunition, the iron mines must not be bombarded; and if the iron mines could be operated undisturbed, the Krupps could make weapons,—the war could continue and the profit of the owners of the war industries would—as it did—continue increasingly.

The iron ore mines and the coal mines which furnished the greatest bulk of the raw material for ammunition were owned and controlled by German and French financiers. "Some of the French iron masters owned mining concessions and smelters in German Lorraine as well as in France, and the Germans had heavy interests in French Brie, as well as in Lorraine proper."*

The most heavily interested owners of those mines were members of international families, some of whom were native citizens of France, or naturalized citizens of Germany, or vice versa, the same arrangement ex-

*Clarence K. Streit's "Where Iron Is, There Is the Fatherland," pp. 8-9.

isting in other countries also, where ores and coal are found. Among the most notable of these omnipresent families are the De Vendel family, the Thyssen family, the Krupp family, and above them all the famous international family of the Rothschilds, who are Jews by religion and barons of Germany, England, France and Austria by business.*

The De Vendel family owns in one section about 25,000 acres of iron land, one-half of which was in German territory, and the other half in French territory. In another section, in the French basin, the De Vendel family, with the Creusot interests,—the Krupps of France—owns eight blast furnaces and also iron mines producing 1,000,000 tons of iron yearly. On the German side the De Vendel family owns mining concessions at Meyeuvre and Hayange, producing 3,000,000 tons of iron yearly. The same family owns also blast furnaces and smelters near these mines. In all, the De Vendel family owns and controls about 200,000 acres of iron land in the German and French sections. The Germans owned 18 mineral concessions in the Briey and Lonway Basin, and a few more in Normandy. The Thyssen family controlled the mines at Bailly, Jouville and Souligny. The mines of Moutiers were controlled by an international group, the stock being divided as follows: French 100, Germans 70, and Belgians 10. The German "Phoenix" group—Hasper and Koesch—controlled the French mines at Jarny and Saucy. The Gelsenkirchner owned in France the mines of St. Pierremont, Sevey, Hout, Lay, St. Jean, Sainte Barbe, Crusone and Valerupt. Other German iron masters owned the mines of Murville and Valleroy. All these concessions were in the Briey Basin, with the exception of Saucy, Crusno and Valerupt.†

*Clarence K. Streit's "Where Iron Is, There Is the Fatherland," p. 12.

†Ibid, pp. 4, 9, 10.

These international families and interests were abundantly represented directly and indirectly in the governments of the various warring countries, and thus the interest of these omnipresent families were properly and adequately protected.

For instance, Humbert de Vendel of the French branch of the family was at London the purchasing agent of the French government, and his work was supervised by General de la Ponuze, the French military attaché at London, who was the brother-in-law of the purchasing agent Wendel. Captain Esbrayat, a director of the Damachy bank, an institution of the Committee of Forges (Steel Trust), in which the international families were interested, was in the French Ministry of Munitions charged with the duty "of checking every kilogram of metal" which went into France.*

The distribution of the imported metal was supervised by a man having the name of Goldsberger (not a very French sounding name), "under-director of the Committee of Forges (Steel Trust), born in Zurich, Switzerland, of German origin, a naturalized Swiss," but no trace of whose naturalization could be found by the Secret Service of France.†

Another member of the Wendel family was a member of the French House of Deputies, and he was entrusted with the investigation of the steel trust of France, but he failed to investigate. Finally, a Frenchman by the name of Max Hoschiller, born in Odessa, Russia, son of an Austrian father of Polish origin and of a Russian mother, "whose name sounds as French as Kelly sounds German,"‡ was acting as a sort of authority on the question: "Why the Germans should not be attacked at the Basin of Briey and driven out thereof?" That

*Clarence K. Streit's "Where Iron Is, There Is the Fatherland," p. 24.

†*Ibid*, p. 24.

‡*Ibid*, pp. 29-30.

Frenchman, Max Hoschiller, was acting under the instruction of another Frenchman, Mr. A. Merrheim (another unfrankish name), who was the head of the miners' union in France.* Is there any wonder that the war was prolonged to the longest possible duration?

To the international families, who were nothing less than members of the international financiers, it mattered not which side to the conflict should win or lose the war. Their profit was assured in either event. The *L'Ouvre*, a newspaper in Paris, May 22nd, 1917, in an article signed by Gustav Téry, the editor of that paper, said, that the blast furnace and steel mill corporation of Caen (France) had, in the minutes of its general meeting, "specified that the Thyssen (German branch of the family) interests are carefully reserved; that a part of the profit realized by this company in the making of war munition (for France) will be put aside for the Thyssen group, and that after the war, automatically and legally, the Messrs. Thyssens will receive their large sum. As it is certain that those same Thyssens work also for the war in Germany, these interesting metallurgists receive their profits then with both hands, that is, from two sides of the frontier, from furnishing material to Germany and to France. If money has no odor, steel has no fatherland."**

Thus did the profit reapers work, and for their own profit prolonged the war. The lives of the millions of soldiers who went through the terrible war was of no consequence to them. They wanted money, and to obtain money there had to be a war. That this was the fact, was known to the French. In the year 1919 the French Chamber of Deputies conducted an investigation into this outrageous matter. During that investigation, after Francois de Wendel, the head of the Committee of Forges (Steel Trust) had given his excuse for the fail-

*Quoted in Clarence K. Streit's "Where Iron Is, There Is the Fatherland," p. 10.

ure of the French government to attack the Germans in the Basin of Briey (the iron mines), Guestave Téry, in the L'Ouvre, February 7th, 1919, exclaimed: "What! The Boches who bombarded Paris 120 kilometers distant could not reach French Bruay which was only 15 kilometers from their lines? At the moment I asked myself that question, I heard behind me a colleague ejaculate: 'By George! They were in cahoots!' "^{*}

The combination of the international families, steel trusts, financiers, and munition manufacturers were the moving factors in creating, starting, and continuing the war. There can be no question about that. Liebknecht, in 1913, before the war broke out, proved to the German Reichstag that the Krupp interests were about to subsidize the French newspapers at Paris to attack Germany and thus create an impression that the French people wanted to have war with Germany, and then planned to use those newspaper articles as proof that Germany should increase her armament to enable herself to meet the attack of the French.[†]

Just where the idea of making the world "safe for democracy" was in that duplicity, it is impossible to see. But it is not difficult to conceive that the purpose of the war was to increase the wealth of a comparatively few families who are neither the "democracy" of the world, nor the whole world. It is very clear that "the wholesale slaughter of men meant a good business to those who furnished the instrument of death."[‡]

Gaudin De Villaine, a conservative French Senator, indicts the French financiers in the following declaration: "*I formally accuse the big cosmopolitan banks, at least the owners of mining rights, of having conceived, prepared and let loose this horrible tragedy with the monstrous thought of world stock jobbing, I accuse the*

^{*}Quoted: *Ibid.*, p. 43.

[†]*Ibid.*, pp. 50 and 51.

[‡]*Ibid.*, p. 50.

*same money powers of having, before and since the war, betrayed the interest of France.”**

Having now seen the basic aims and purposes in the World War, let us examine, briefly, how the international financiers and the war profiteers in the United States of America had furthered the “war aims” of the war makers. The World War was a profitable business to some American financiers even before America entered the war. By means of their pre-war loans they were interested in practically every country in Europe. After the war started, they began to make loans and to act as the agents of European countries to obtain loans from the American government. “It was brought out in the Congressional debates (when the three billion dollar war loan to the Allies was discussed) that the loan meant \$60,000,000 (sixty million dollars) in commission to one banking (American) firm—owing to a contract under which the Entente governments agreed to pay a commission, two per cent of all loans floated in America, whether negotiated through that firm or not.”† And when credit was established in America for the Allies, “the Allied agents drew checks upon it, and turned the check directly over to the corporations of Mr. Schwab, Mr. Ryan, Judge Gary, Mr. Davison, Mr. Stettinus, Mr. Farrel, Mr. Vanderlip, Mr. Morgan and other multi-millionaires who were so soon to figure as shining patriots, all of whom were interested in Allied trade and involved in Allied credit operations.”‡

The World War was a source of great profit to the American branch of International Commercial men and International Financiers. When President Wilson informed the American people that war with Germany was inevitable, American financiers rose in a chorus and commended the President on his belligerent stand. His

**Ibid.* pp. 46-48.

†John Kenneth Turner’s, “Shall It Be Again?” p. 286.

‡*Ibid.* p. 288.

war address "met with instant and hearty approval by leaders in the financial district,"* said Judge Gary, head of the U. S. Steel Corporation. "It was 100 per cent American," said Frank Vanderlip, moving genius of the American International Corporation, and head of the Guaranty Trust Company. "It was well worth waiting for," said A. Barton Hepburn, another of our leading bankers. "The speech breathes the true spirit of the American people," said Martin Gary, of the Standard Oil Co. "It is a good thing for the country," a president of one of the Trusts said,† "War with Germany might not be an evil," said President Wilson privately to some of the United States Senators.‡ "A million new springs of wealth will be developed," said Frank A. Vanderlip, head of the National City Bank. Finally, Mr. Burleson, Postmaster General of the United States of Ameria, laid down the following condition for the enjoyment of the privilege of second class mail: "Papers (which are to be accepted as second class mail) must not say that the government is controlled by Wall Street." (October 9, 1917).

It will be noted that there is no indication in the foregoing that the American branch of the International Financiers, munition makers and other influential men had in mind the idea of making the world "safe for democracy." That slogan was invented after it became necessary to create a belligerent spirit in the United States of America.

In the actual fighting the American soldiers lost their lives, a hundred thousand of them. But in the actual direction and control of the war, as in France, Germany and England, the financiers were the chief actors.§

*New York Times, quoted in Turner's "Shall It Be Again?" p. 256.

†Turner's, "Shall It Be Again?" pp. 256 and 257.

‡Ibid, p. 22.

§See Turner's, "Shall It Be Again?" chapters on Patriotism of the Profit Makers," "Profits and Patriotism," "Profit Seeker and Profit Server," "Secret of the War Profits," pp. 256-318.

Finally, when the war was over, and President Wilson was in Paris, we find him surrounded by American financiers who "were closer in the confidence of the President and had more to do in shaping the treaties, than the Senate of the United States, or any part or member of it."* And the New York financiers received an advance copy of the peace conditions before the Senate of the United States of America was permitted to know those conditions.

It is a matter of common knowledge that as the result of the prolonged war and out of the miseries and sufferings of millions of people, the war mongers amassed huge fortunes. "The fifty-one months during which millions of men were killed was a most profitable era for these interests. The wholesale slaughter of men meant good business to those who furnished the instruments of death."†

By this time it is evident to the reader that the World War, as a matter of grawsome historical facts, was not fought "to make the world safe for democracy." As President Wilson admitted, "the war was not brought on by the people";‡ but that "the war, in its inception, was a commercial and industrial war."§ As the result, an enormous debt was settled on the shoulders of the peoples of the warring countries, conquerors and conquered alike. Great Britain's debt is ten times more now than it was before the World War. The debt of European countries to the United States alone is eleven billions of dollars. In addition, there are "inter-allied debts" and domestic loans in each country.|| The peoples of the conquered countries are taxed beyond human possibilities. For countless generations to come, their role in life is to work and pay debt; otherwise they will be

*Ibid, p. 367.

†Streit's, "Where Iron Is, There Is the Fatherland," p. 50.

‡Quoted in Turner's "Shall It Be Again?" p. 26.

§Ibid, p. 426.

||Robert Mountsier's, "Our Eleven Billion Dollars," p. 5.

trampled under the heels of foreign soldiers. In the victorious countries the peoples are taxed in a heretofore unheard of degree. The world is now paying the huge debt incurred in the World War. International Commerce and International Finance have cut out of the world their one pound of flesh; and the world now lies at their feet as their economic slave,—without any hope of emancipation, unless Christian civilization calls a halt to this nefarious business of world enslavement.

Was Hungary responsible for causing and starting the World War? In the face of these hard and sordid facts, may Hungary be justly and fairly charged with the causing and starting of the World War? Is there an honest doubt in the mind of the reader that the World War was not a commercial war? Money, wealth, commercial supremacy and world's control were the aims and purposes of the World War. If, according to Lloyd George, the war had to come, "whatever emperors, diplomatists and statesmen said, thought or intended," how could Hungary, a vassal of Austria, have had any controlling influence in causing or starting the war? If history is true, if facts are facts, if truth is truth, Hungary stands blameless and innocent before the Bar of Christian Civilization.

XIX.

HUNGARY DURING THE WORLD WAR

Forced into the war, Hungary, as a separate and distinct nation, had only one vital interest in the war. That was to secure for herself a free and unmolested domestic peace and tranquility, immune from the venomous propaganda directed against her from Servia. Aside from that, Hungary had no interest in, and not even a remote possibility of material advantage resulting from, the war. But, as has been seen, she had no will of her own, nor power to stay outside of the conflict. As a member of the dual monarchy she had no choice, but, unwillingly, she was compelled to follow Austria and Germany into the war. Once in the war, however, Hungary fought honorably and bled profusely at the side of Austria and Germany to the very end. The poisoned pens of the propagandists may villify Hungary to the utmost degree of slander; but the fact remains, and let it be said to the well deserved praise of the Hungarians, that in spite of the almost unbelievable hardships, mistreatments and sufferings, Hungary had not for one moment during that terrible conflict violated her word of honor, nor did she desert those at whose side she fought, although she had been baited so to do, and though such dishonorable act would have resulted in material benefit to her. It has been freely admitted by friends and foes, that Hungary was an honorable friend to her "friends" and a worthy opponent to her foes.

In the war Hungary had two enemies to fight, one enemy was the Triple Entente, and the other was her old enemy, Austria. While 42.6 per cent of the Austro-Hungarian army was recruited from Hungary, the Hun-

garian soldiers were treated as if they were foreigners. Only 30 per cent of the officers, 28 per cent of the General Staff and 11 per cent of the generals were appointed from the ranks of the Hungarians. Most of the members of the General Staff and of the Board of Management were Czechs (Bohemians) or Germans. Of the 442 members of the Board of Management only 56 were Hungarians. It resulted, therefore, that Hungary was treated as a vassal, rather than as a member of the monarchy.

As an illustration and clear example of how Hungary was treated by Austria during the war, let the following facts stand: To keep Hungary in economic background, the supplies for the army were purchased from Austrian, Czech (Bohemian) and German manufacturers, while food stuffs were requisitioned from the Hungarian farmers. And to avoid any possibility that Hungary would effectively protest against the disgraceful treatment accorded to her, Austria explicitly forbade the factories of Hungary to manufacture any semi-manufacturing products, such as armor plate and ammunition.”*

In actual engagements the Hungarian soldiers were sent to the front in the thickest of the fire. It was the Hungarian blood that had to flow first and the Hungarian army that had to be depleted first, to make sure that no effective protest could come from Hungary against the mistreatment suffered by her. Consequently, when the Russian army threatened to invade Hungary, a German army had to be sent to aid the Hungarians to prevent the Russians from overrunning Hungary.

The Hungarians in the army and at home underwent many sacrifices and privations. The Board of Management of the Army, chiefly consisting of Austrians,

*Hungarian Note 2, Annex 34, to Paris Peace Conference.

Czechs and Germans, ordered clothes for the Hungarian soldiers which were made mostly of paper. In paper clothes and shoes those soldiers were sent to fight in the Carpathian mountains, and there 25,000 in number, it is reported, were frozen to death or beyond recovery. And while the more fortunates were literally rotting alive in the trenches, some of the necessaries of life were denied them until they were willing or able to pay exorbitant prices therefor. An officer in the Hungarian army personally related to this writer that, while the Hungarian soldiers were in the front trenches, the supply of matches stopped suddenly and that they could not obtain one single match until they were willing to pay one crown (20 cents in U. S. value) for a box of matches.

The war consumed more than the surplus of food needed for the people remaining at home. Privation and starvation threatened all of Hungary. Prices soared to a dazzling height. The food and clothing problem became a crucial one. "I don't know what technically can be designated as famine. But when even in Hungary a chicken cost five dollars and a goose twenty, I think it may be fairly asserted that a condition closely bordering on famine really does exist. The civilian population suffers more or less severely from an insufficiency of nourishing food. And it is precisely the feeble and the sickly, the babies, women, children and aged who are injured the most. It will be in the end a fearful illustration of the Darwinian survival of the fittest. Chiefly owing to the lack of milk, infant mortality there has been, in 1916, more than treble what it was in 1914."*

For all the sacrifices, suffering, privations, mistreatments and hunger that the Hungarians endured, there was neither material nor political benefit given them. Nor did the Hungarians expect or seek any benefit, ex-

*Wolf von Schierbrand's "Austria-Hungary, the Polyglot Empire," p. 208.

cept that they should live on their own soil unmolested by foreign intrigues and propaganda. The other members of the monarchy, however, had various aims and probable fortunes to obtain from the war. In the event of victory, Austria's power would be augmented. The Czechs would receive additional Slav territories and would become the leading power in the monarchy. And the Czechs had a "policy for all emergencies." In the event of defeat, the Triple Entente would help the Czechs to organize a strong Bohemian State. The Servians, in either event of victory or defeat, would be given more territory and more political power. These expectations were worth fighting for. And when the opportune time arrived, both the Czechs and Jugoslavs foresook, and turned against, the Hungarians.

After President Wilson, in January, 1918, announced his "fourteen points" and declared that "peoples and provinces shall not be allowed to be bartered away from one sovereignty to another, as if they were lifeless objects, or pawns in a game"; that "nations may be ruled and governed only with their own consent today"; and that "self-determination is no hollow phrase," the Hungarian army laid down its arms. Hungary took President Wilson at his word and believed that he meant what he said. It was the principle of self-determination that the Hungarians fought for in 1848-9, and struggled for ever since thereafter. The principle of self-determination was the only interest of Hungary in the whole war; and that principle, the Hungarians so believed, was assured to them as well as to others by President Wilson. There was no reason left for the Hungarians to continue the war. An independent Hungary and an unmolested domestic peace was assured to them; and they laid down their arms and extended a brotherly hand to their enemies. After the armistice was signed, the Hungarians joined the world in its celebration of the end of the war.

Hungary was looking forward for a better future. The breasts of the Hungarians were heaving with joy. At last, after centuries of struggle for independence, the day had arrived when Hungary could be free! "Self-determination," the centuries long dream of the Hungarians now became true! Out of the bounteous good will of the great American people,

"Hungary,
"Ermined and crowned, shall sit in her own seat—
"In Peaceful state and sober majesty
"And bravely unloosening her bonds,
"By her strong will shall be at last the home
"Of broadly based and virtuous liberty."

This was indeed a glorious dream; but, unfortunately, it remained a dream. The Peace Conference of Paris, like a nightmare, changed that dream into a hideous disappointment.

XX.

HUNGARY FLEECED DURING THE ARMISTICE

At the end of the World War Hungary fell under the control of a radical and distinctively international Jewish element. At its head was Count Michael Károlyi, who was a Christian by religion, an aristocrat by wealth, and an "opposition" by politics. During his membership in the Hungarian House of Parliament, Károlyi exhibited a rather mediocre talent and a meager political ability. During Hungary's hour of peril, Károlyi and his Jewish co-agitators utilized his social position in order to swing Hungary under the control of the radical and distinctively international Jewish* element of the country.

During the hour of Hungary's danger, when the war was nearing its end, when her enemies were preparing to crucify her, when she was in dire need of a strong Christian government, Károlyi and his international Jewish adherents began to conduct a ruthless campaign of agitation against the constitutional government of

*The reader's kind indulgence is asked for the outspoken manner in which we write. If we want to convey the truth, we must be courageous enough to speak the truth. When we speak about the **international Jews of Hungary**, we do not want to be misunderstood; but we cannot speak about the Mohammedans, when, in truth and fact, the actors, concerning whom we speak, are **international Jews**. Christian civilization is entitled to know the truth, and we mean to tell the truth, even if that truth should register a shock in the supersensitiveness of the international Jews, concerning whom we speak. If any or all of the international Jews, concerning whom we speak, do now object to the revelation of the truth concerning their baneful and un-Christian activities, let them revise their method of activities and join the great Christian family of mankind and accept and be actuated by the great Christian principles of unselfish human fellowship.

Hungary. Finally, on the night of October 30, 1918, in a mock revolution, Károlyi and his international Jewish co-agitators assumed full control of Hungary. On November 6, Count Stephen Tisza, the Prime Minister of Hungary, a devoted Christian and one of the greatest Hungarian statesmen ever lived, who had so vigorously opposed the World War, was, by a mob of drunken soldiers of the new regime, brutally assassinated in his home, in the presence of his devoted wife. It should be noted that this was the first important political assassination in the history of Hungary, as it was the first instance in the history of that country, that a well organized gang of international Jews, headed by a Christian idiot, had obtained full control of Hungary. The assassination of Count Tisza may serve as a warning to every Christian country in the world as to what might happen to Christian statesmen when an organized group of international Jews obtain full political control of any given country.

The new regime proclaimed "The Hungarian People's Republic," and Károlyi was elected its president. The old and venerable constitution of Hungary was swept aside. The Parliament was disbanded and the "National Council," consisting of extreme radicals and international Jews, took over the full control of Hungary. On November 11, 1918, King Charles IV formally abdicated. Károlyi and his "National Council" had firmly seated themselves in the governmental saddle.

The new government sent an order to the Hungarian soldiers at the front to return to Hungary. The soldiers complied with the order. In Budapest they were told by the Minister of War, Lindler, to go home. Then the Minister exclaimed: "I do not want to see a soldier any more." Thus, the Hungarian army was demobilized. Afterwards, the country police force was also demobilized. "After the Socialist and Bolshevik element gained more and more ground in Károlyi's councils, ,the nucleus

of a new army was created, consisting exclusively of trusty Socialists and Bolsheviks."*

Miss Cecile Tormay, a noted Hungarian writer, in her book, "An Outlaw's Diary,"† on pages 88-89, describes the Károlyi "revolution" in the following language:

"Károlyi's revolution was engineered exclusively by Jews. They make no secret of it. In the government there are officially three, in reality five, Jewish ministers.

"Garami, Jászi, Kunfi, Szende and Diener—Dénes (all Jews!) have control over the Ministries of Commerce, of the Mayors of the communes. The vile spell, which had benumbed the capital, cast its evil eye over the Nationalities, of Public Welfare and Labor, of Finance and of Foreign Affairs. By means of the Police Department of the Home Office, they have control over the police and the political secret service: they have placed at its head two Jews, former *agents provocateurs*."

"The right hand man of the Minister of War is a Jew who was formerly a photographer. The president of the Press Bureau is a Jew, and so is the Censor. Most of the members of the National Council are Jews. Jews are the Commander of the Garrison, the Government Commissary of the Soldiers' Council, the head of the Workers' Council. Károlyi's advisers are all Jews!"

When he believed that his government was firmly established, Károlyi, with a motley crowd of Jewish "advisers," dressed in shooting jackets, breeches and gaiters, went to Belgrade to arrange the terms of the armistice with the French General D'Esperey who commanded the allied forces in the East. "The General wore a full dress uniform, with all his decorations. He glared in astonishment at the motley company. He became cold and contemptuous, shook hands with nobody, and folded his arms over his chest. Astonished at first, he became

*See "Hungary Since the Armistice," by Count Laszlo Széchényi, in "The North American Review," July, 1923.

†McBride.

ironical. ‘Are you all Jews?’ the General asked. Then in disgust the General threw his head back haughtily, turned on his heel, and left them.* Károlyi and his crowd were not invited to dinner.

After dinner, “General D’Esperey put on his field uniform and with hard words handed Károlyi and his Jewish crowd the terrible, degrading conditions of the armistice.”† While handing the terms of armistice to Károlyi, General D’Esperey is reported to have said: “The Czechs, Roumanians and Jugoslavs are the enemies of Hungary, and I have only to give the orders and you will be destroyed.”‡ Thus, Hungary had received the first severe blow immediately at the end of the World War.

The terms of the Armistice, dictated by the French General were harsh and imposed extremely heavy obligations upon Hungary. A large part of her military supplies, rolling stock, river boats and live stock was to be delivered to the Allies. The Hungarian army was to be reduced to five divisions of infantry and one division of cavalry. About one-third of the territory of Hungary was to be occupied by the allied and associated army, though the civil administration of the occupied territory was to be carried on by the Hungarian government. It was stipulated that the occupation was temporary and the boundaries of Hungary were to be settled by the Peace Conference.

The Hungarians at once proceeded to comply with the terms of the armistice and began to strip their own country of the things demanded by the Allies in the armistice. After the Hungarians fulfilled the terms of the armistice and delivered to the Allies what they demanded, the French General, D’Esperey made good his threats and let loose the Servians and Roumanians, who, like hungry wolves, invaded and fell upon Hungary, and

*“An Outlaw’s Diary,” pp. 107 and 108.

†Ibid., p. 108.

‡Ibid., p. 104.

shamefully ravaged the country. Thus, the terms of the armistice were immediately violated by the Allies.

Stripped of the things the Allies wanted and her army demobilized, Hungary was unable to check the invaders, who proceeded to devastate everything that was left in Hungary after the armistice. The country was invaded in the South by the Servians in November, and in the East by the Roumanians, in the month of December. The Roumanian soldiers were beragged, wearing straw hats; but they helped themselves to whatever clothing they found in Hungary. These marauders were followed by the Czechs in the North and took from the Hungarians whatever was found. The invaders, after having stripped the country of its valuables, proceeded to divide up the territory of Hungary and to occupy their shares as "strategically important points." It was a free grab; and unfortunate Hungary was torn into pieces, as by the claws of ravaging wolves. And the Entente, which had fought "to make the world safe for democracy," looked on, coldly and with fiendish unconcern.

The invaders recognized neither domestic nor international law. Not satisfied with robbing the helpless Hungarians of their land and personal belongings, the marauders violated even the persons of the Hungarians. According to the report of Professor Coolidge of Harvard University, who was a member of the American Peace Commission, in the ancient Hungarian city of Kolozsvár, a young lady, speaking in the Hungarian language, remarked to her husband that the Roumanian soldiers patrolling the street were bedecked in Hungarian uniforms, whereas the day before she saw them in Roumanian rags. The young lady and her husband were arrested and, stripped of their clothing, were given twenty-five strokes of birch on their naked bodies. It was further reported to Professor Coolidge that the Servians also had introduced flogging as a punishment for

the Hungarians who lived in the "occupied" territories.

How scornfully the Roumanian invaders violated even the international law is shown by the following statement written by a professor of the University of Kolozsvár to the editor of the "London Nation" and published in that periodical on July 12, 1919:—

"On May 10 the Roumanians, relying on military force, declared our university to be the property of the Roumanian State, and invited our professors to take the oath of fidelity to Roumania and its King. Relying on international law, we unanimously refused to commit such an act of treason to the fatherland. Thereupon, 48 hours after the dispatch of their demand, our university was surrounded, during lesson hours, by armed forces. The professors were expelled from their chairs, our laboratory equipment was seized, and nearly 2,500 students were dispersed by the suspension of our university life. Furthermore, the assistant professors and their staff were forced, on pain of immediate expulsion, to remain in their places and continue their clinical work under the control of their old students of Roumanian nationality.

"It is needless to add that all this is contrary to international law. It is enough to remind you, that according to the fundamental principle of international law, every military occupation previous to the conclusion of peace is merely temporary, and has no judicial consequences. Furthermore, article 75 of the Hague Convention expressly forbids any citizen of occupied territory from being invited or forced to take the oath of allegiance to the conquering power, while article 56 provides that the property of schools and scientific institutes, even if they belong to the State, must be considered to be private property."*

Against this vandalism and cruel violation of laws and outrages committed against the properties and persons of

*Quoted in Statement of Eugene Pivany to Committee on Foreign Relation, Sixth Congress, First Session.

the Hungarians there was no recourse. To resist these vandals by arms would have been suicidal, because Hungary had no standing army; besides, the Allies were holding Hungary by her throat. It was more in line with human reason to allow themselves to be robbed of their personal belongings and liberty and thus save their lives, than to save their property by driving the invaders out of Hungary and, at the same time, allow themselves to be killed by the guns of the Allies.

Besides, Hungary expected the Allies to keep their words and comply with the terms of the armistice. It was reasonable for the Hungarians to believe that the nations which fought for the high ideals of making the world "safe for democracy" would have due respect for their promises and agreements and protect the rights of the conquered. Relying upon this belief, President Károlyi frantically appealed to the Allies and begged them to accord to Hungary that treatment to which she was entitled under the terms of the armistice and according to international law. The appeal fell upon deaf ears and the invaders continued ransacking Hungary, unmolested, unresisted and with the consent of the Allies.

This insane policy of the Allies visited upon Hungary another series of outrages. The Bolshevik regime of Russia, by that time, had "educated" the bolshevically inclined Hungarian Jewish prisoners of war held in Russia. They were trained to become skillful agitators and untiring apostles of the gospel of Bolshevism. While the "occupied" territories of Hungary were being devastated and ransacked by the invaders, and while Károlyi's government was in the full control of radicals and international Jews, these trained agitators, supplied with an enormous amount of Russian money, and augmented by a large number of Russian Jews, swooped down upon Hungary and spread all over the unoccupied territory of the country, preaching the "redeeming gospel of Bolshevism." They promised the Hungarians liberty,

wealth and immunity from the invaders. If the Hungarians would accept the doctrine of Bolshevism, all their sufferings would be eliminated. Under the Bolshevik regime the country would be cleared of the invaders. Everybody would have all he should desire. "Become a convert to Bolshevism," said these apostles, "and Hungary will be free." . . . Those bolsheviks were voluble promissors.

Under normal conditions Hungary would be the last country in the world to become Bolshevik. But this was not a normal condition. The Hungarians were being robbed and flogged by the invaders who were in every respect inferior to the Hungarians. An appeal to the conscience and to the honor of the victorious Allies brought them no relief against the outrages and indignities committed against them. The newly organized army was in the hands of the radicals and international Jews. There was no strength left for the Hungarians in Hungary successfully to oppose Bolshevism. Károlyi,* without and authority from Hungary, turned the government over to the Bolsheviks. Christian Hungary was no more.

The Bolsheviks took over the control of the Hungarian government on March 21, 1919, and "ruled" Hungary until August 12th of the same year. Bela Kuhn, whose

*Károlyi and his Jewish co-politicians afterwards fled from Hungary. For some time the rendezvous of this political scum of Hungary was Vienna. From there they directed their venomous propaganda against Hungary. When their fund was depleted, they scattered into several countries. With the aid of Czechoslovak passports some of them had succeeded in entering the United States of America. Under Jewish patronage they are in this country now slandering the land of their birth which they had almost succeeded in ruining. In their dishonorable and slanderous propaganda they refer to themselves as "exiles," comparing themselves to the great and ever faithful son of Hungary,—Louis Kossuth. But it should be remembered that **Kossuth was a Christian Hungarian** and that during his world-wide activities in behalf of Hungary he never slandered Hungary. Károlyi and his Jewish co-politicians,—those birds which so unconscionably befoul their own nest,—have never been and are not now patriots of the type of Louis Kossuth.

real name was Moritz Cohen, one of the "educated" prisoners of war, assumed a dictatorial power and thus became the "Semitic Dictator" of Hungary. The personnel of the "government" were selected from the ranks of the agitators, about ninety-five per cent of "whose names tell us that they were of Jewish origin."* The country then was divided into districts, and at the head of each district a commissaire was placed. It was not uncommon for the Bolsheviks to appoint janitors of Jewish churches to the office of commissaire who held in the hollow of their hands the life or death of the people in their districts. Terror squads were organized, and the "red terror" was in full swing.

The Bolsheviks now set to work to destroy what was left of Hungary. They followed the example of the iconoclastic farmer whose vineyard was threatened by a storm. Seeing that his grape vines were in danger of being destroyed by the impending storm, this farmer took into his hand a heavy pole and, with his face turned toward heaven, said: "Now, Lord, let's see which one of us can do a more perfect job of destruction." Then he proceeded to "beat the storm to it." Private property was seized and turned over to the converts of bolshevism. The rights of individuals to life, liberty and property were trampled upon. Those who did not subscribe to the Bolshevik doctrine were arrested, jailed and summarily executed. Venerable old men were torn from their families and shot to death in full public view. And when fathers of Christian families were held in jails without food, and their daughters or wives wished to take food to them, it was necessary for these ladies to pass through the offices of Samuely, the Jewish chief of the Bolshevik terror squad, who fiendishly offered to permit the food to be conveyed to the incarcerated fathers, provided the young ladies would first submit to the ravages of Samuely and of his henchmen. When

*Dillon's "Inside Story of the Peace Conference," p. 224.

these Christian young ladies had turned away in disgust and horror from that unspeakable Monster, he ordered them out of his office; but before they could escape from the building, they were seized and outraged, and their abdomens ripped open. Men were arrested in their clubs, carried away in trucks, murdered during transportation, and their bodies were thrown into the river.

The terror with which the bolsheviks ruled Hungary is fully explained by the following order given by one of the commissaires:

*"Do not shrink from the shedding of blood, for nothing worth while can be obtained without it. Without blood there can be no terror, and without terror there can be no dictatorship of the proletariat."**

To carry out to the limit their system of "blood and terror," the bolsheviks abolished the right of trial and the right of defense. Christian Hungarians who opposed the bolsheviks were arrested and, without the formality of trial, and without the right of defense, were condemned to death. As an example of this bolshevik outrage, the following case is cited:

The bolsheviks arrested ten Hungarians in the Baross Café, in Budapest. They were charged with being "counter-revolutionaries." At midnight of the same day the accused were hauled before Czerny, one of the leaders of the bolshevik "terror squad." The prosecutor read and explained to the prisoners the charges against them. Then Czerny, the "Lenin boy," put his watch on the table and told the lawyer of the accused that he had one minute to plead for each of the ten accused. After this mockery, without any formality, the bolshevik terrorist condemned eight of the ten accused to death. On the same morning the eight condemned were shot to death.†

*Quoted in Count Paul Teleki's "The Evolution of Hungary and Its Place in European History," p. 136.

†*Ibid.*, p. 138.

This, then, is a fair example of what a government by bolshevik Jews, for bolshevik Jews and by bolshevik Jewish atrocity can accomplish! And Christian civilization might pause for a moment and ponder over these unprecedented atrocities.

In that terrible national catastrophe the Christians of Hungary looked toward the Christian Churches as the only source of national salvation. They clung to the word "Christian," in which the salvation of Hungary was assuringly implied. While passing in front of any of the Christian churches, the Christian men reverently uncovered their heads. The Catholic bared his head just as reverently as the Protestant. The Christian women of whatsoever denomination, with prayer on their lips, passed in front of the Christian churches, appealing to the Prince of Peace, that He might avert that awful national tragedy and save Christian Hungary from that terrible Jewish tyranny. It was somewhat later that Lloyd George, ex-Prime Minister of England, as if to confirm the belief of the Christian Hungarians, said: "The religion of Jesus Christ is the only thing that can save the world from another catastrophe."

It may be of some interest to the reader to know the reason why the bolshevik Jews succeeded in obtaining dictatorial control of Hungary, and why those bolshevik Jews wreaked such a terrible vengeance upon Christian Hungary. We shall give facts which will explain the reasons.

The Hungarians had always been tolerant and extremely liberal and friendly toward those who settled in Hungary. In 1785 there were 75,000 Jews in Hungary, and they got along very friendly with the Hungarians. During the time the Jews were persecuted in Roumania, Russia, and Poland, thousands of Jews from those countries flocked into Hungary. Just like the United States of America did, Hungary threw her gates wide open and admitted the persecuted Jews and treated

them with the utmost of Christian liberalism. The result of that liberalism was that in 1910 there were 912,000 Jews in Hungary.

Hungary was good to the immigrant Jews. Under the very liberal laws of Hungary, the immigrant Jews were given the right to acquire Hungarian citizenship, even before they learned to appreciate the rights and privileges of Hungarian citizenship. Many of them considered Hungary not so much as their country but as a field of exploitation. Like Marlow's Jew of Malta, they considered the accumulation of wealth, by any means whatsoever, above any religious or political consideration. When the Hungarians realized that their liberalism toward those immigrant Jews was a mistake, it was too late. Those Jews, like the Jew of Malta, could grin and say:

"Rather had I, a Jew, be hated thus (being wealthy),
Than pitied in Christian poverty.
They say that we are a scatter'd nation:
I cannot tell; but we have scrambled up
More wealth by far than those that brag of (Christian)
faith."

"O girl! O Gold! O beauty! O my bliss!"*

Count Teleki, former Premier of Hungary, says in his book, on page 142, that "bolshevism in Hungary was led and directed by these foreigners (Jews). Of course," he says, "there were Jews of older Hungarian origin, just as there were Hungarians taking part in the bolshevist movement, but the hatred of the people was aroused by the Galicians" (the Polish and Russian Jews). When the Hungarians opposed the outrages of those Jews, the cry of "white terror" was sent broadcast, and Count Teleki says "we (Hungarians) had no means to defend ourselves," for the reason that the dissemination of news and, therefore, the means to mold public

*Marlow's Plays. The Jew of Malta.

opinion, were in the hands and control of Jews in Europe. Those Polish and Russian Jews could torture the Hungarians,—they could wait in front of Christian Churches for the Hungarian Christians and as those Christians came out of the churches they could be hanged to the nearest trees; but Christian civilization did not hear of it. But if a Hungarian Christian happened to step on the small toe of any of those Jews, the Jew had yelled so loud, that the whole of Christendom had heard it.

Thus, during the bolshevik dictatorship in Hungary, those "foreign" Jews devastated Hungary, tortured and murdered Christian Hungarian women, young and old; yet Christian civilization heard very little of those atrocities. At this time, when even some of the American newspapers are writing ultimatums to the Hungarian government to resign because the Jews do not like that government, Christian civilization, and even the better element of Jewdom, might, with some moral benefit, ponder over the facts recited here. It is an utter folly for any Jew to believe that the Christian Hungarian men and women can be impoverished, tortured, outraged and murdered without a very vigorous and, indeed, active protest.

It would seem natural that the Christian nations, such as the victorious Allies are, would intervene to prevent the bolshevik Jews from utterly destroying Hungary. But there was a purpose of a definite nature in torturing the Christian Hungarians to the extremest point of endurance. Certain financial groups had an evil design on Hungary. Certain financial advantages were to be obtained from Hungary, before her suffering would be assuaged. But before such advantages could be gained, Hungary had to be forced down on her knees. Certain groups of international financiers wanted their pound of flesh from Hungary. And no Portia was there to insist that no more than one pound of flesh shall be cut!

Those international financiers, however, did not have

the temerity of the "Merchant of Venice" to take into their hands their whetted knives and cut their pound of flesh from Hungary. They were too cowardly for that. They used the Roumanian army and the "Allied Army of Occupation" for that purpose. As a first step, a Roumanian army was sent into Hungary to occupy all the non-occupied territory of Hungary and to capture Budapest, the capital.

The plan of campaign decided-on had Marshal Foch for its author. It was, therefore, business-like. He demanded a quarter of million men (July 17, 1919), to which it was decided that Roumania should contribute 120,000, Jugoslavia 50,000 and Czechoslovakia as many as she could conveniently afford. But before the preparations were begun, Bela Kun flung his troops against the Roumanians with initial success, drove them across the river Tisza with considerable loss, and struck dismay into the members of the Supreme Council at Paris. The Roumanians afterward returned and defeated the Hungarians.*

The Roumanian army now marched on to Budapest. Suddenly a peremptory order was sent from the Peace Conference to the Roumanians to stop. But the Roumanians replied: "We take orders here only from our own government, which is in Bucharest."† The reason for this order was not by any means a tender attitude on the part of the victorious Allies, to save Hungary from further ravages and outrages. The purpose was to gain time to parley for economic advantages. *Some of the officers of the Allied army were in the employ, or else members, of certain financial groups, seeking economic advantages in Hungary.* To accomplish their purpose, they combined military force with bribery. Kuhn, the

*Dr. E. J. Dillon's "The Inside Story of the Peace Conference, p. 221.

†Ibid: p. 232.

Bolshevik dictator, was offered brilliant advantages to be given him by the Allies. He was assured that if he would give, in the Bánát, certain concessions to a financial group he would be left in power unmolested and that "subsequently he would be honored by an invitation to the Peace Conference of Paris." The name of this "financial group for obvious reasons remained nameless."^{*}

Such was the army, the power behind that army, and the method used to make the world "safe for democracy!"

The "Bánát," coveted by the "certain financial group," is one of the richest unexploited regions in Europe. Its mines of gold, zinc, lead, coal and iron offer an irresistible temptation to pushing capitalists and their governments who feel further attracted by the credible announcement that it also possesses oil in quantities large enough to warrant exploitation.[†]

The Bánát was an integral part of Hungary for over one thousand years, ever since Hungary existed. During all these one thousand years all the nations of Europe recognized it as a part of Hungary. But after the armistice, the Jugoslavs claimed the Bánát for themselves, "in order to possess herself of these abundant supplies." The Jugoslavs, however, were not able to hold that territory; therefore, the "certain financial group which for obvious reasons remained nameless" attempted to obtain concession therein from the Bolshevik regime. The "concession hunters are not fastidious about the nationality or character of those who bestow what they happen to be seeking."[‡]

These "enterprising officers belonging to the Allied Army of Occupation" did not succeed, at first, in their attempt to obtain control of the Bánát. But what is impossible for an army controlled by "financial group"?

*Dr. Dillon's "The Inside Story of the Peace Conference," p. 239.

[†]Ibid.

[‡]Ibid., p. 239.

If no concession could be obtained from Jugoslavia or from the Hungarian Bolsheviks, there were other methods whereby the concessions could be secured. In short, the Bánát was made an "independent republic." And since "it was obvious that the new community contained a very small population for an independent state, a protector would be required." And "this humanitarian role of protectress" was promised to be assigned to democratic France. And French agents were on the spot to approve the arrangement (The actors in this episode were not all officers and civil servants. They included some men in responsible positions).*

"In this compromising fashion Bela Kuhn was left for the time being in undisturbed power, and none of his friends had any fear that he would be driven out by the Allies so long as he contrived to hit it off with the Hungarians. Should the Hungarians turn away from him, however, the cosmopolitan financiers, whose cordial virtues are suppleness and adaptability, would readily work with his successor, whoever he might be."†

It so happened, however, that the concessions sought in the Bánát were not obtained from the Bolshevik dictator. But this was a small matter for the "financial group." With the consent of the Peace Conference at Paris, which was also controlled by the "financial group," the Roumanians were let loose and they marched through Hungary and occupied Budapest. "Vengeance is mine," said the "financial group." And they got vengeance.

The Roumanian army now redoubled its efforts to pillage in Hungary what was left by the Bolsheviks. "The story of the pillaging by the Roumanian army in Hungary is Homeric. It equals anything of the kind done in the war. The Roumanians took away machines, farm implements, cattle, and even seed grain of the peasants. A member of the English Mission, sent into the east of

*Ibid, p. 240.

†Ibid, p. 240.

Hungary to investigate the facts, said epigrammatically, that the Roumanians had not even left the nails in the boards"!*

"During the revolutionary movement and the lengthy crisis ensuing, a part of the capital of the country was annihilated, another part was eaten up; what might have remained has fallen victim to the Roumanian occupation. Our factories have been stripped; and the bulk of the stock of machinery and animals and means of communication of our agriculture have been either requisitioned or simply taken away by the armies of occupation. Indeed the lack of supply since the Roumanian occupation, the lack of all means and implements has made the supply of the materials essential to the maintenance of our economic life impracticable."†

Nor was this all. In their effort to make a thorough haul from Hungary, the Roumanian soldiers entered the homes of the Hungarians, stripped the linen from their beds and carried off their clothing. Anything and everything that could be piled into trucks and freight cars were taken. So eager were the Roumanians to clean up Hungary, that they actually took and carried away the door knobs. And Hungary was so thoroughly "cleaned out," that no linen was left, in which the newly born babes could be wrapped, so that the unfortunate creatures had to be wrapped in ordinary tissue paper.

When there was nothing left for them to take, the Roumanians backed large trucks in front of the doors of the Hungarian National Museum and were preparing to haul away the invaluable treasures of arts and other collections of national import. What the ignorant Roumanians wanted with the priceless collection of arts is a matter of speculation; but that they intended to "clean out" the Museum was evident enough. But it happened

J. J. Bass' "The Peace Tangle," p. 193.

†Hungarian Note 2. Presentation Note to Peace Conference, January 14, 1919, p. 19.

that by that time there was in Budapest an American Military Mission, commanded by Brigadier General Bandholz. Having heard of the intended vandalism by the Roumanians, General Bandholz hastened to the Museum. The Roumanian trucks were already backed up to the door of the Gallery when he arrived. He quickly put the United States seal on the door of the Museum and in a brief, stern and unmistakable American style told the Roumanian Staff that the breaking of that seal would result in serious consequences. The Roumanians promptly left the Museum and the priceless treasures of arts and other collections, the pride of the Hungarian Nation, were saved.

The Hungarians could no longer bear the outrages and humiliations of the Roumanian invaders. Under the leadership of Admiral Nicholas Horthy, now Governor of Hungary, a number of brave Hungarians organized an army. Poorly equipped though they were, they marched on to Budapest. They were determined to fight and die, rather than suffer any more outrages at the hands of the invaders. The Roumanian army, as cowardly as it came in, moved out of Budapest and marched to the line of demarcation, without offering any resistance. Thus, at last, Budapest, together with the little strip of Hungarian territory, was freed from foreign occupation and ravages.

These are facts that occurred after the armistice, between Hungary and the victorious Allies, was signed. The high sounding phrases, the lofty principles and the much heralded "war aims" were lost sight of, when "the financial group" wanted to obtain concessions in the virgin land of Hungary. If the sufferings of Hungary were stopped here, it might have appeared that dazed civilization had come to its senses and assumed a human form and acted in terms of human thought and feeling.

But Hungary's cup was not full to the brim yet. She had to undergo a painful operation on the table of the

Peace Conference of Paris and there to learn how cruel modern civilization can be. There on the operating table she was taught the modern meaning of the term, "the world safe for democracy."

"O judgment, thou art fled to brutish beasts,
And men have lost their reason!—Bear with me;
My heart is on the table there with (Hungary),
And I must pause till it comes back to me."*

*With apology to "Julius Caesar."

XXI

THE MUTILATION OF HUNGARY

"Look, in this place ran Cassius' dagger through:
See what a rent the envious Casca made:
Through this the well-beloved Brutus stabbed:
And, as he pluck'd his cursed steel away,
Mark how the blood of (Hungary) follows it."

. . . "I have neither wit, nor words, nor worth,
Action, nor utterance, nor power of speech,
To stir men's blood; I only speak right on:
I tell you that which you yourselves do know;
Show you poor (Hungary's) wounds. . . .
And bid them speak for me."*

The tragic end of Hungary came during the session of the Peace Conference assembled at Paris. In unison with every civilized people of the world, Hungary expected that the Peace Conference would bring about a condition that would make this a better world to live in. "The world must be made safe for democracy." "Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty." These were the principles that President Wilson proclaimed to the world.† Upon these principles Hungary rightfully expected that, in the application of these lofty ideals, she would be accorded a treatment that would meet not only her own but also the eager expectation of mankind. But this eager expectation of mankind was not realized. Hungary was mutilated and economically and nationally destroyed.

*With apology to "Julius Caesar."

†Address to U. S. Congress, April 2, 1917.

The Peace Conference at Paris was the most important gathering of its kind within the memory of human history. Peace Conferences there were many before. For example, there was the Congress of Vienna in 1815, a gathering of gaudy and absolute emperors, kings, princes and diplomats. The avowed purpose of that Congress was to reshape the boundaries of Europe and to divide the land and people among the crowned rulers of Europe. There the people had no voice in the decision of the Congress; it was held for the benefit and enrichment of the victorious monarchs of the continent of Europe. But the Peace Conference of Paris, it was believed, was held by the chosen representatives of the peoples of the victorious countries. The purpose was to make peace which "must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty."^{*} A peace which was "to secure an enduring peace in the future;"[†] for "no peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize that no right anywhere exists to hand peoples about as if they were property."[‡] To lay the foundation for the Peace Conference "men were asked to throw themselves into the fighting, so that the world might be made 'safe for democracy'; and so that the war with all its horrors might be brought to an end. Everywhere the masses of the people, the simple minded, the liberal, the idealists, yearned for these things and believed that they would shortly come to pass, and that a new and better world was about to be brought into being."[§] The war was, the people were so told, the "peoples' war," and now the Peace Conference was, or rather should have been, by the people, for the people and for the benefit of mankind.

The personnel of the Conference consisted of three distinct divisions, (1) the chief delegates, (2) the plenipo-

^{*}Wilson.

[†]Bryce.

[‡]Wilson.

[§]E. R. Turner's "Europe Since 1870," p. 499.

tentiaries, and (3) the "experts" attached to each delegation. Besides, there were, in goodly number, "representatives" of various national, "religious" and, most of all, financial interests.* The chief figures were, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America; Lloyd George, Prime Minister of England; Signor Orlando, Prime Minister of Italy; M. Clemenceau, Prime Minister of France. These four men were designated in the newspapers as the "Big Four." They "were all surrounded by Jewish advisers, who played a decisive part at the Peace Conference."†

These "Big Four" chiefs were primarily politicians. They were not equal to the great task which the civilized people of the world expected them to perform. During the conference they exhibited an appalling ignorance of the very things upon which a just and lasting peace could be based. During their deliberations, they depended too much upon their "Jewish advisers" and, therefore, proved themselves unequal to their task. Consequently, the result of their work left the world in dismay, Europe paralyzed and Hungary asphyxiated.

Life for the members of the Peace Conference was gorgeous in Paris. The "Big" chiefs were applauded. President Wilson was acclaimed as the "Saviour of the World." They were basking in the widely spread rays of the unlimited admiration of the people of Europe. "The chiefs of the peace armies resided in sumptuous hotels, furnished luxuriously in dubious taste, flooded after sundown with dazzling light, and filled by day with the buzz of idle chatter, the shuffling of feet, the banging of doors, and the ringing of bells. Music and dancing enlivened the inmates when their toil was over and time had to be killed. Thus, within one could find anxious deliberation and warm debate; without, noisy revel and

*Nitti's "Wreck of Europe," p. 111.

†Prof. C. Sarole, University of Edinburg, Scotland: "Current History Magazine," January, 1923, p. 593.

vulgar brawl."* And all this happened, while millions of peoples, especially children in Europe, were, out of the bounty of the American people, fed and clothed to keep their withering souls within their starving bodies!

The conference reduced itself down to four men, "The Big Four," President Wilson, Lloyd George, Orlando and Clemenceau, and thus the conference was the "Big Four," and the "Big Four" were the conference. The main work of the conference was, it was believed, done by the "Big Four." Their deliberations were held in secret, so far as the people of the world and their respective civil governments were concerned. In their deliberations they were controlled not by their convictions based upon their special knowledge of the subject, but by "politics," and "politics" was based upon "public opinion," which was manufactured in the various countries by newspapers, most of which were controlled by certain financial interests. While the subject of the deliberations of the conference, the causes and reasons upon which its conclusions were based and the conclusions themselves were of special interest to the people of the world, the people were denied the information, while the financial interests were fully informed of these very things.

There are two glaring examples of how the "secrets" of the conference were kept from the people of the world, while the financial interests had in their possession the very secrets which the people were denied. The Senate of the United States of America had requested from President Wilson a copy of one of the "secret" treaties; but the request was refused, on the ground that it was a secret document; and, although no treaty can be made with the United States without the consent of the Senate, that law-making body could not obtain the secret; while, at that very time, a copy of that very "secret" treaty was in the hands of certain financial interests in

*Dr. E. J. Dillon's "The Inside Story of the Peace Conference," p. 14.

New York. The French Parliamentary Committee of the Budget had a similar experience. It had requested its own government for a section of the Peace Treaty dealing with finances. The Committee on Foreign Affairs made a similar request. Both were refused. "I should much like to communicate to you the text you ask for," said the French Premier, "but I may not do so until it is signed by the President of the Republic." But the adroit editor of the *Bonsoir* "imported six hundred copies of the forbidden Treaty from Switzerland, and sent them as a present to the Deputies of the Chamber, whereupon the parliamentary authorities posted up a notice informing all Deputies who desired a copy to call at the questor's office, where they would receive it gratuitously as a present from the *Bonsoir*. Accordingly, the Deputies, including the Speaker, Deschanel, thronged the questor's office. Even solemn-faced Ministers received a copy of the thick volume which I possessed ever since the day it was issued."* "The excuse" of the Prime Minister was a "mere humbug."*

This secrecy toward the public and openness toward the financial interests appears ridiculous and at the same time disgraceful; but there were good reasons therefor. The warring people on the side of England and France had been told during the war that it was the "people's war" and that one of the foundations of the peace after the world war would be "open covenants openly arrived at."† The fact, however, was that the work of the Peace Conference was based upon treaties and agreements secretly "arrived at" among the members of the Triple Entente. This fact was known to the "Big Four" and to the financial interests before the Conference convened and while it deliberated. For the public these secrets

*Dr. E. J. Dillon's "The Inside Story of the Peace Conference," p. 132.

†First point of Wilson's 14 Points.

were considered dangerous to know; and that was sufficient reason for the secrecy.

The purpose of the Peace Conference at Paris was not, in reality, to make peace but to make up anew the map of Europe; and, consequently, there is no peace. The chief aim was to dismember the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and thereby snatch from Germany the control of the Balkans and to block definitely the completion of the Berlin-Bagdad Railroad. Coincidentally with this aim was the purpose so to distribute the land theretofore belonging to the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and also to so create a Poland, that certain international financial interests might obtain concessions in the fields containing natural resources, such as various ores and oil. There is nothing contained in the Peace Treaty that would indicate even a sign of desire to create peace; while the entire document is teeming with conditions favoring the hunters of special privileges. "The secret treaties," which were made by and among the predatory powers in the interest of the Allies, "won out and formed the basis of the five treaties of the so-called peace drafted by the Paris Conference.*

To work out and give the world a just and durable peace would have required the services of men who were, in a large measure, independent in thought and action and were qualified by knowledge to formulate the peace that the world needed and expected. "The Big Four" fell short of this qualification. "They were mere novices in international affairs, and geography, ethnography, psychology and political history were sealed books to them." While the nature of their tasks demanded that they should be specialists in practically everything, "they were specialists in nothing." "Whether one contemplates them in the light of their public acts or through the prisms of gossip, the figures cut by the delegates of

*John F. Bass' "The Peace Tangle," p. 25.

the Great Powers were pathetic. Giants in the parliamentary sphere, they shrank to the dimension of dwarfs in the international. In matters of international politics they were helplessly at sea."*

All the writers whose works had been consulted agree on this: that the four chief delegates themselves did not have adequate knowledge of the facts which were, or should have been, the basis of a just and durable peace. Therefore, they had to depend upon the advice of their "Jewish experts," by whom they were surrounded. Clemenceau held the idea that "treaties are a method of continuing war."† President Wilson "was fickle," "supremely ignorant of things European," and "with his academic simplicity he was unprepared."‡ Mr. Lansing, the Secretary of State and one of the members of the American official delegates to the Peace Conference, complains in his book that he was rarely consulted and even if consulted, his advice was not heeded. President Wilson told Mr. Lansing that he (Wilson) "did not intend to have lawyers drafting the peace treaty."§ President Wilson made good his statement; for the financial part of the Paris Peace Treaty was written by Mr. Bernard Baruch, a New York financier.

A few examples of the utter ignorance of the "Big Four" concerning the geography of Europe which they were to reshape are submitted to the reader.

"Is it Upper or Lower Silesia for which those greedy Poles are hankering?" "Please point out to me Dalmatia and tell me what connection there is between it and Fiume." "I cannot understand the spokesmen of the smaller states. They make me stark mad. They single out a strip of territory and for no intelligible reason flock around it like birds of prey around a corpse on the field of

*Dr. E. J. Dillon's "The Inside Story of the Peace Conference," pp. 102-103.

†Francesco Nitti's "The Wreck of Europe," p. 68.

‡*Ibid.*, p. 68.

§Lansing's "The Peace Negotiations," p. 107.

battle. Take Silesia for example. The Poles are clamoring for it as if the very existence of their country depended on their annexing it. The Germans are still more crazy about it. The world has gone mad. And what does France herself want with it?" "What had Frederick the Great to do with the partition of Poland?" "I thought the Kurds and the Turks are the same people." "Where is Transylvania which is coveted by the Roumanians?"

The subjects of these questions were important, because they formed a part of the causes for which the war was fought. It was very essential for those who had taken upon themselves the task to reshape the map of Europe to know the subject of those inquiries. Silesia was very important for the German industries; but now the French wanted it annexed to Poland, so that French and English financiers could exploit it. While Transylvania comprised about one-third of Hungary and contained valuable minerals, which the Roumanians wanted to govern and certain financial interests to exploit. The disposition of these matters were vital to the peace of Europe. The arbitrary disposal of them left Europe and the world without peace. Yet, the "Big Four" were childishly ignorant of these vital matters.

It was before this "Big Four," that Hungary was dragged on the operating table. Bleeding from the many wounds received by her during and after the war, Hungary pleaded for justice and fair play; but all in vain. The causes of the wounds were not investigated, the remedies to heal them were not sought. Blindly and with keen-edged carving knives the "Big Four" proceeded to cut off big chunks from the body of Hungary and threw them to her hungry neighbors. Whether Hungary would survive or not, was not the concern of the operators. The main purpose was to cut. Whether the dissected parts were of any use to the neighbors,—that was no concern of the "Big Four." Hungary had to be cut

into pieces, arteries and all. The neighbors had to be satisfied and the concession-hunter financiers given their "pound of flesh." Whether this was sane, just and right, nobody cared: whether the operation was healthy to all concerned made no difference. The secret treaties so provided and the operation was so performed.

Hungary, as a nation, has existed ever since the year 895 A. D. and the territory, known as Hungary proper, has been occupied by the Hungarians ever since that time. The nations of Europe had never questioned the right of Hungary to possess, as her own, the Hungarian territory. Even during the time of the Turkish invasion and occupation of Hungary, her territorial integrity was preserved, with the exception of Transylvania which was given self-government under Turkish control. Nor was the right of the Hungarian Nation to govern the people living on Hungarian soil ever questioned, except by Austria for the selfish reason to incorporate Hungary into the Austrian Empire. It was only after one thousand and more years of her national existence that the right of Hungary to control her territory was brought into question.

As we have already seen, the territory of Hungary proper, by reason of her geographical position, is a compact economic unit. The natural resources were so distributed by Nature throughout the country as to make its different districts depend upon one another for subsistence. The great Plain (*Alföld*) is the wheat producing section, indeed the granary of Hungary; but it lacks timber and minerals. The northern and south-eastern sections are rich in timber, coal, iron ore and salt; but it is not suitable for agriculture. The south-eastern section is rich in gas, oil, coal, salt, copper, gold and silver; but it is poor agriculturally. This natural distribution of the natural resources makes the various districts dependent upon one another. Thus, the agricultural section depends for its timber and minerals upon the north-

ern, southern and south-eastern sections; while these sections depend for their food products upon the agricultural section. Neither section can sustain itself out of its own product; while together they form a self-supporting organism.

This economic unity of the country is strengthened by the river system of the country, by which inter-communication of the various sections is facilitated. The highways and railways were also so built as to follow the natural direction of the river system. The telephones and telegraphs were also distributed in the country as to aid the handiwork of Nature in Hungary. In short, both by Nature and by the subsequent engineering skill of the Hungarians, Hungary proper was a perfect geographical and economic unit.

When the Peace Conference of Paris was in session, the population of Hungary proper was 18,264,533, of whom 9,938,134 were of the old Hungarian stock and 8,326,399 were the descendants of foreign settlers. The difference in these figures arose from the fact that Hungary permitted the settlers to retain their customs and racial characteristics. The educational facilities of Hungary were extended to these settlers and their descendants; but during the Austrian rule, the Austrian government fostered the separate education of these settlers in their own mother tongue. The following table shows the population of Hungary proper:—

Hungarians of original stock -----	9,938,134
Descendants of German Settlers -----	1,901,042
Descendants of Croatian Settlers -----	181,882
Descendants of Slovak Settlers -----	1,946,165
Descendants of Servian Settlers -----	461,091
Descendants of Roumanians -----	2,948,049
Descendants of Ruthenians -----	464,359
Descendants of other races -----	423,911
<hr/>	
Total -----	18,264,533

Expressed in percentages:

Hungarian stock -----	54.5%
German stock -----	10.4%
Slovak stock -----	10.7%
Roumanian stock -----	16.1%
Others -----	8.3%
 Total -----	100.0%

The Jews comprised five per cent of the entire population of Hungary.

The foregoing table compares favorably with the table showing the population of the United States of America in the year 1910, when the total population of the country was 91,972,266, of which the number of foreign born and those born of foreign parents were 32,243,382. That is to say: 35.5 per cent of the total population was of foreign parentage or foreign born. Thus:

Foreign born -----	13,345,545
Both parents foreign born -----	12,916,311
One parent foreign born -----	5,981,526
 Total -----	32,243,382
Total population -----	91,972,266
Of foreign stock -----	32,243,382
 Natives -----	59,728,864

Among the natives in the American table are included all those whose parents were children of foreign birth. While in the Hungarian table those of foreign extraction are not included among the pure Hungarian stock. Yet, reduced to percentage, the following result is obtained: Of the entire population:—

In the United States of America native born-----	65.5%
In Hungary, old Hungarian stock-----	55.5%
Difference -----	10.0%

In the United States of America, foreign born-----	35.5%
In Hungary, natives but of foreign extraction-----	45.5%
Difference -----	10.0%

The Peace Conference was in possession of these facts. The "Big Four" were given a full and complete description of the geographical physiognomy of Hungary and a brief but comprehensive history of that country and of the Hungarian Nation. The "Big Four" were given in a carefully drawn and elaborately prepared volume, entitled "The Economics of Hungary in Maps," all the facts, geographical and economic, which were necessary for them to know, in order to decide upon and mark out the boundaries of Hungary. With all these facts and graphic illustrations before them, there was no reason for the "Big Four" to remain ignorant of the vital facts concerning Hungary.

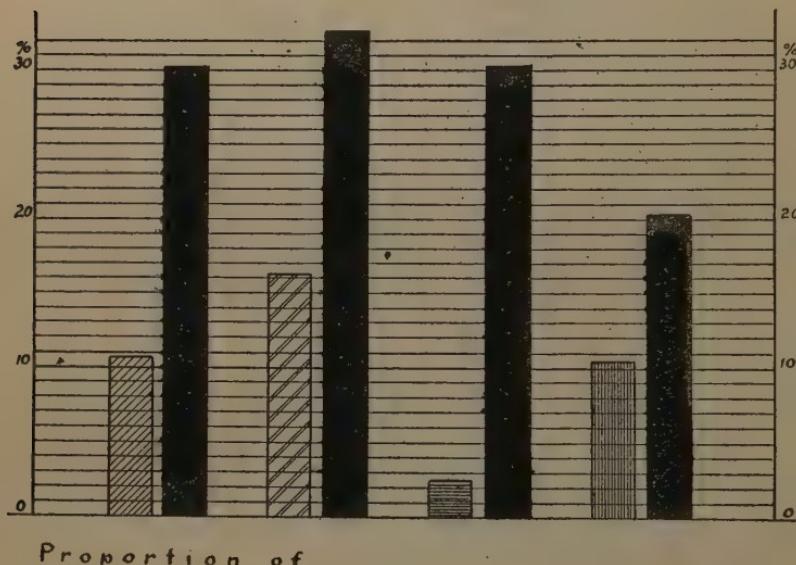
The secret treaties, however, were the controlling factors in the Conference; and in the secret treaties Hungary was divided and the divisions were given to Roumania, Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia. The "Big Four" had neither the will nor did they possess the moral courage to do justice to Hungary. Therefore, they proceeded to mutilate Hungary as follows:—

Disregarding the natural boundaries and totally blind to the geographical and economic unity of the country, with three strokes of their carving knives, the "Big Four" cut from the body of one thousand year old Hungary three sections, equaling in size to two-thirds of the entire territory of Hungary. The territories torn away from the body of Hungary were distributed as follows:—

To Roumania -----	102,787 square kilometers
To Czechoslovakia -----	62,937 square kilometers
To Servia -----	20,956 square kilometers
To Austria -----	5,055 square kilometers
To Fiume -----	21 square kilometers
 Total -----	191,756 square kilometers

The population severed from Hungary with these distributed territories are:

To Roumania 5,266,444.	To Austria 392,431.
To Czechoslovakia 3,575,685.	To Fiume 49,806.
To Servia 1,499,213.	Total, 10,782,576.

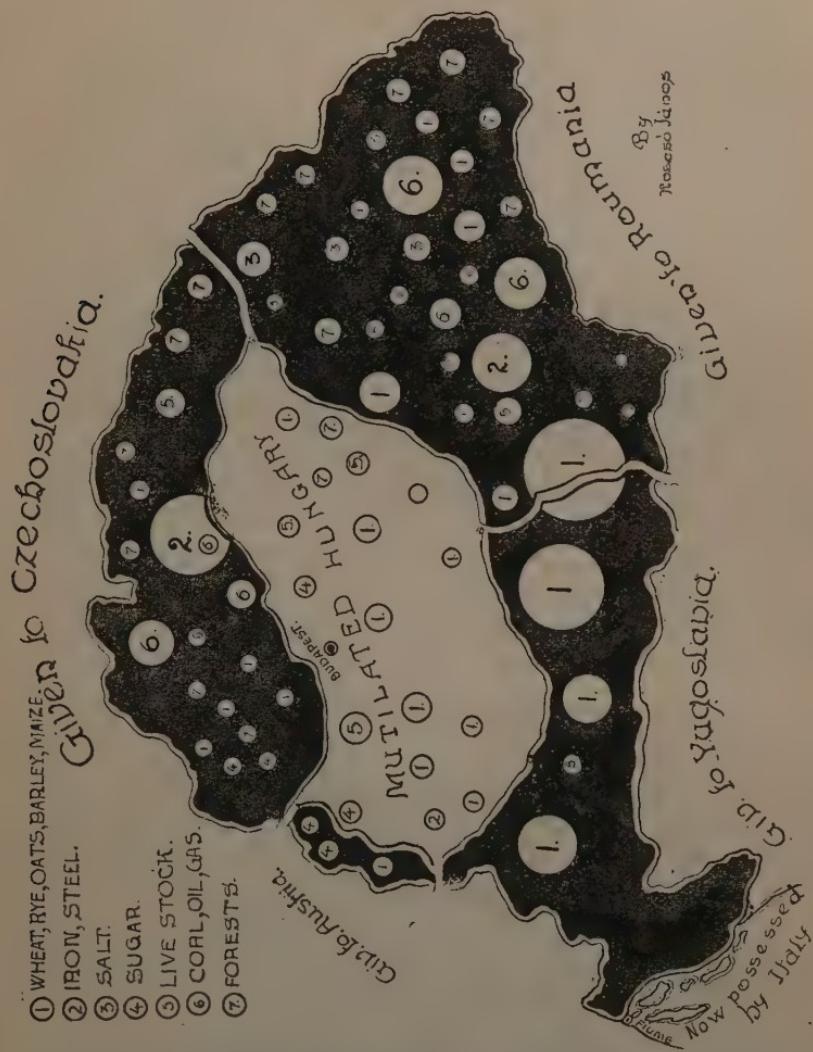


Proportion of

[Hatched Bar] Slovaks	[Hatched Bar] Croat and Serbs	} to the population of Hungary entire
[Hatched Bar] Roumanians	[Hatched Bar] Germans	

Proportion of Hungarians to Slovaks, Roumanians, South-Slavs, and Germans on the severed territories.

The proportion of Hungarians on the severed parts, and the proportion of the principal nationalities in Hungary entire.—Redrawn from Dr. L. Buday's "Dismembered Hungary," p. 271.



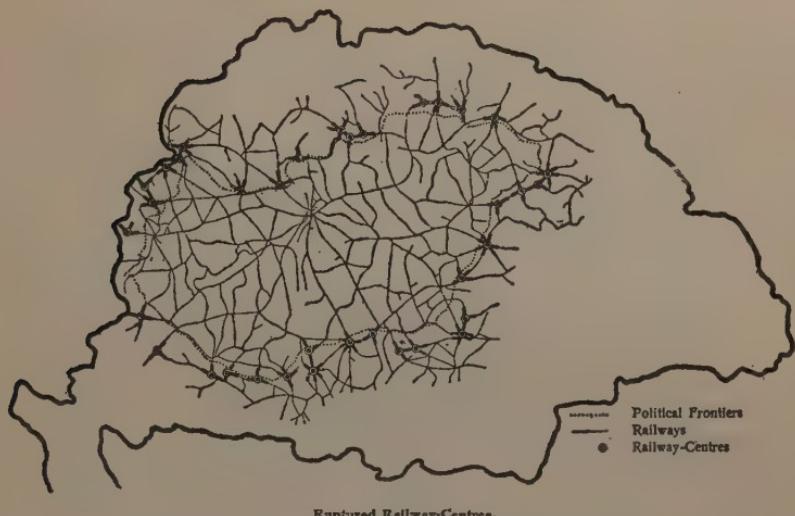
This drawing shows how brutally Hungary was mutilated. The areas in black represent 68% of the territory of former Hungary, which was taken from her. The white area in the center indicates what is left of Hungary. With the severed territories 59% of Hungary's population was arbitrarily transferred to the new states. (The original design was made by S. Tamas. Redesigned by Koscsó Janos.)

The ancestors of all these various races emigrated into and settled in Hungary as far back as 1200 A. D. Descendants of settlers on American soil are uniformly designated as Americans, though their ancestry may not, and as a matter of fact cannot, be traced back as far as 1200 A. D. By the same token, all of the people torn from Hungary were, in the political meaning of the term, native Hungarians, though of various racial extraction. Their political, economic, religious and social interests were identical with the interests of those of the original Hungarian stock. This mutuality of economic interests was just as true in Hungary as it is in the United States of America among the natives and the descendants of our immigrants. And the segregating and bartering of the various descendants of settlers in Hungary was just as irrational as it would be to barter various parts of the United States of America to Czechoslovakia, Roumania and Jugoslavia, on the ground that many immigrants from those countries had settled and left descendants here.

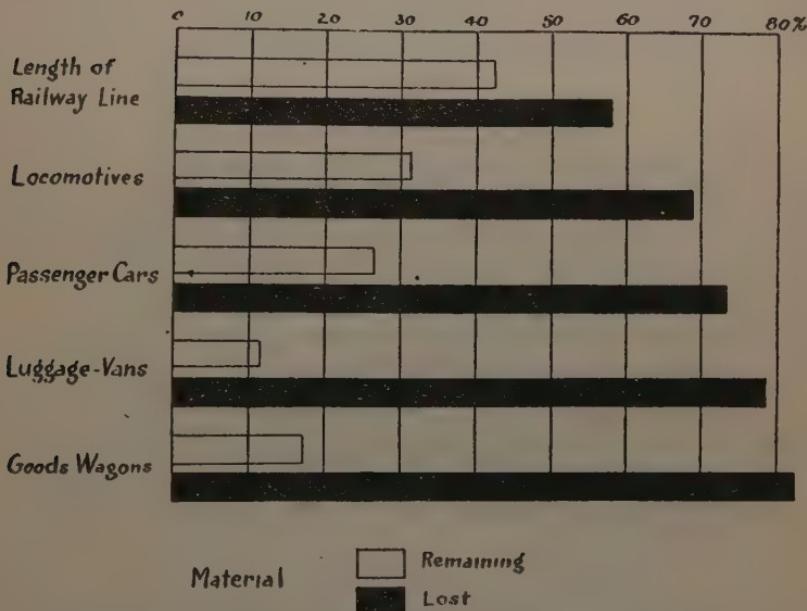
By the mutilation of her territory, Hungary was crippled not only territorially and in the loss of two-thirds of her land and one-half of her population, but she was also ruined economically. As it has already been pointed out, geographically Hungary was an economic unit; and that the violation of the unified natural arrangement of the country would throw the entire country into economic ruin. And that is exactly what happened after the Peace Conference of Paris got through with Hungary. By the act of the Conference Hungary lost, in addition to the two-thirds of her territory and one-half of her population, the following:

59/60th of her water power.

A large part of her railway system, so that the end stations were increased from 28 to 51, indicating to what extent the Railway System was cut into fragments.



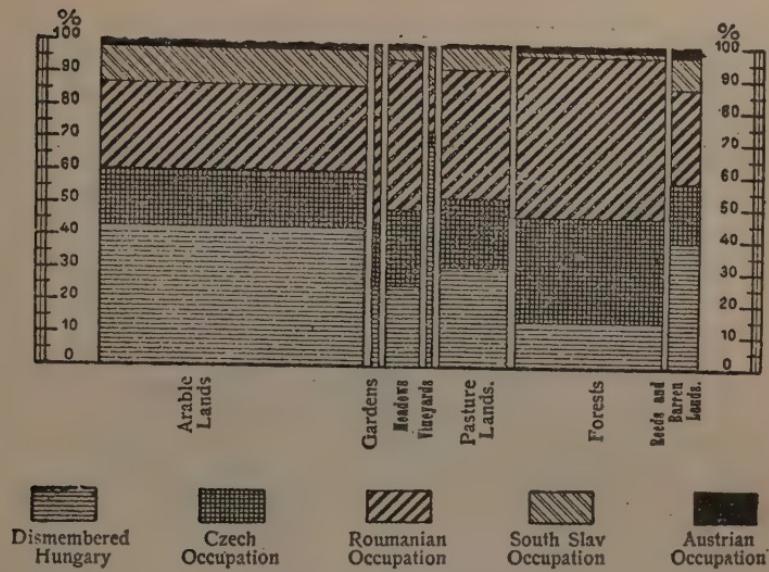
Reproduced from Dr. L. Buday's "Dismembered Hungary," p. 201.



Hungary's loss of Railroads and Railroad rolling-stock.—Redrawn from Dr L. Buday's "Dismembered Hungary," p. 197.

The telephone and telegraph lines were crippled.
The Bánát, the best wheat-producing field, taken away.
More than one-half of her coal fields and almost all her
oil and gas were taken away.
Out of the 16,861 schools 11,216 were taken away.
Ninety per cent (90%) of her timber land taken away.
More than one-half of her arable land taken away.
68.8% of her stock of cattle, 70.9% of her sheep, 66.2%
of her stock of hogs and pigs and 70.6% of her corn
stock taken away.
40% of her sugar refineries taken away.
55% of her tobacco industries taken away.
60% of her starch industries taken away.
63% of her vegetable preserve industry taken away.
2% of her vegetable oil industry taken away.
27% of her candle industries taken from her.
99% of her iron ore mines taken (one mine at Rudo-
bánya left). It is said that this mine will produce
ore for about 4 years yet. In that event Hungary
will have no iron ore after 4 years.
60% of her iron and steel industries taken away.
10% of her engineering (machine manufactories) taken
from her.
47% of her hemp manufacturing taken from her.
53% of her flax manufacturing taken from her.
73% of her cotton industries taken away.
90% of her wool industries taken from her.
50% of her leather industries taken away.
47% of her petroleum refineries taken away.
39% of her cement works taken away.
78% of her glass works taken away.
95% of her quarries taken away.
100% of her salt taken away. Not a pinch of salt was
left in Hungary.

Never, in the history of the world, was anything like
this done to a country of civilized men. Mutilated in
territory, stripped of her industry and transportation,



Branches of Cultivation.

This shows in what proportion Hungary's land was distributed among the "new states."—Reprinted from Dr. L. Buday's "Dismembered Hungary."



The shaded area represents the territory taken from Hungary. The circles represent the proportion of coal, oil, and gas fields taken from Hungary. The white area represents mutilated Hungary.—Redrawn from "Economics of Hungary in Maps."

Hungary was reduced to an unbearable economic condition. The cruelty of civilized men had never left behind it a more grawsome accomplishment. In this act of cruelty, the intelligence of civilization fell into bankruptcy.

The thoroughness and the accompanying insanity with which the completion of the economic ruin of Hungary was accomplished becomes painfully vivid, when



Hungary's loss of iron ore. The black circles indicate the iron ore deposit. The heavy black line indicates the new boundary line of Hungary. The white area indicates what was left of Hungary.—Redrawn by Brand from "Economics of Hungary in Maps."

the result of this enormity is examined. During the one thousand years of her existence, Hungary had constructed her highways and railways to comply with the geographic needs of the country. Her irrigation systems were perfected in compliance with the special need with reference to the land to be irrigated and the water system from which the irrigation was conducted. Her factories were so located and built as to be near to

the source of supply and their market. The educational institutions, centuries old, were so located and built as to meet the special needs of the people in their vicinity. In the building up of the country, the experience of the nation for the last one thousand years was effectively used with the result that in 1914 Hungary was considered, and in fact she was, on an equal footing with any country of its size in Europe.



Hungary's loss of table salt deposit. The black circles indicate the table salt deposits. The shaded area indicates the territory taken from Hungary. The white spot indicates what was left of Hungary.—Redrawn by Brand from "Economics of Hungary in Maps."

By the act of the Peace Conference at Paris, the railway system of Hungary was completely demoralized, so cut into sections and donated to neighboring countries, that it would appear ridiculous if it were not profoundly serious. It has been stated that the number of 28 terminals was increased to 51. The meaning of this fact is that if, in several sections of mutilated Hungary, one desires to travel from one point to another point on one line of the railroad, he has to cross and recross the boundaries of several newly created states before he

reaches his destination. Furthermore, the traveler, going from one to another point in mutilated Hungary, is obliged to produce his passport for the inspection of the authorities who are now possessing the traversed parts of the country. The transportation of mail and freight must go through unloading inspection at the several custom houses of the new states which were erected out of the body of mutilated Hungary. It is stated here without any expectation of successful contradiction, that the history of mankind has never recorded on its pages such a demony as is the mutilation of the railway system of Hungary.

The irrigation and flood control system passed out of Hungarian control. Take the rivers, the Danube and the Tisza (Theiss) for example. For the last one thousand years those rivers were controlled by Hungary, and both the irrigation and flood preventing systems were worked out in an elaborate system to suit the especial need of the country. This system extended up into the mountains, as the control of the rivers was necessary there. Both the irrigation and flood prevention systems are of vital necessity in Hungary. But that part of ancient Hungary, through which the Danube and the Tisza flow, was divided among three countries. Now the upper part of both rivers are controlled by Czechoslovakia and Roumania, and the lower part of them left for Hungary. Millions and millions of crowns and centuries of labor had been invested by Hungary to complete these systems. "In the mountain regions 800 rain-gauges have been erected, and 1600 stations to observe water volume have been established on the upper course of the rivers; on the lower courses of the streams 130 water gauges have been placed. A great net of alarm stations with telephones were placed along the dikes and canals. Daily reports and maps showing the water level were published; and seventy-eight local co-operative companies were at work, keeping dikes and locks in re-

pair. The safety of about 6,000,000 acres of land and of thousands of people depended upon this flood preventing system."*

Now, by the stroke of a pen, the whole system was destroyed. Hungary may now spend any amount of money on these systems, no benefit would result, because the



Hungary's loss of flood prevention system. Shaded areas indicate the territories controlled by the flood prevention system. The heavy line indicates the new boundary line of Hungary. The upper parts of the two main rivers are in Czechoslovakia.—Redesigned by Brand from "Economics of Hungary in Maps."

upper parts of the rivers now are in the possession of foreign powers who are inimical to Hungary. One single flood may reduce mutilated Hungary to starvation of the sternest reality. Against this contingency Hungary has no recourse. Unless the merciful God of the Universe intervenes, or until the awakened conscience of civilization shall undo the demoniac work of the Peace

*Teleki's "Evolution of Hungary," p. 97.

Conference of Paris, Hungary is constantly under the terrible fear of flood* which may work havoc in that unfortunate mutilated country.

The manufacturing plants of the country were built near the sources of their supplies and market. But most, if not all, their supplies were given to Roumania, Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia. Hence, about 1327 factories were cut off from their supplies and thereby doomed to eternal ruin.

With the territories torn from Hungary, many of the ancient institutions of learning passed into foreign control. The great universities of Kolozsvár and of Pozsony, these prides of ancient Hungary, the law schools of Kassa, Nagyvárad and Pécs, the Protestant colleges of Pozsony, Sárospatak, Eperjes, Nagyenyed, and Marosvásárhely, the many museums of these towns, the innumerable lyceums, grammar schools and technical schools of the severed territories, all passed into foreign control. It is worthy of note, that more than 500 schools of all degrees which fell into the control of Roumania were closed immediately and, as the result, more than 270,000 students and teachers were left without education of any sort.”†

It is natural to inquire as to the reasons for this heartless mutilation of Hungary. Surely, for a destructive act of this magnitude there ought to be some acceptable reason and a tenable foundation. Was it perpetrated because of a desire to punish Hungary? Was it done, because of national reasons? Or was the mutilation of Hungary completed because of an ulterior design of some invisible power? There must have been some reason for this unprecedented atrocity.

Punishment of Hungary, as a reason for her mutilation, is out of the question. *Every member of the Peace*

*Since the above was written, a flood almost destroyed a part of Budapest. What will happen in the future? God knows!

†“Summary of Note 2,” presented by Hungary to the Peace Conference of Paris.

Conference knew that Hungary was not responsible for the war. The truth of this fact is evident. Hungary was an unwilling part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy; and even as such, she struggled bravely to avert the war. The Austrian Red Book contains the full proof of this fact. At the outbreak of the war, Ireland was a part of the British Empire and, as such member, she was forced into the war. Had England been conquered, would it be possible to conjure up any reason for charging Ireland with causing the war? Would the conscience of civilization permit the mutilation of Ireland, by reason of the fact that she was a contending factor in the war? The answer is evident. If there could have been no reason for punishing Ireland, it is equally true that there was no reason for punishing Hungary. Nor was the mutilation of Hungary accomplished as a punishment to Hungary. No one has successfully claimed that such was the fact.

Neither was the question of nationality the reason for the mutilation of Hungary. There is no country in the world, not even China, the population of which is not mixed by descendants of various races. There is no country in the world, the inhabitants of which are strictly homogeneous. There may be, as there actually are, several races, or descendants of several races in one country: yet, the economic and political interests of the descendants of all these various races are identical. Besides, the descendants of these various races are usually not living in segregated districts of any given country, but they are scattered throughout the land. Such was the case in Hungary, and such is the fact in the United States of America and in every country in the world. Any man who would advocate the advisability of dividing the territory of the United States of America among Czechoslovakia, Roumania and Jugoslavia and others, because there are large numbers of immigrants here from those countries, would be considered a lunatic. It

is equally true that any man who believes, or has ever believed, that the mutilation of Hungary was necessary on racial grounds, is either woefully ignorant of the actual facts concerning the matter, or else is insane, or else he is an international impostor. The question of nationality was no more the reason for mutilating Hungary, than was the question of nationality for Francesco Villa for attacking and trying to invade the United States of America. And the control of Roumania, Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia in Hungary was no more desired, asked or requested by those people who were subsequently bartered to these countries, than was Francesco Villa invited by the American people to save them from American control. Yet, both the Peace Conference of Paris and Francesco Villa had their reasons for their acts. In neither case was the reason to be found in nationality.

If the mutilation of Hungary could be based upon national question; if a country which permits immigrants to settle down in its territory should be mutilated, regardless of economic consequences, Roumania, Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia should be the first countries to undergo that operation; for the inhabitants of those countries are just as variegated as that of Hungary.

The inhabitants of Czechoslovakia are mixed as follows:

Total population, in round figures, 13,000,000. Of this number are:

Czechs and Moravians -----	48.5%
Slovaks -----	13.3%
Germans -----	30.8%
Hungarians -----	6.5%
Ruthenians and Poles -----	9%

The total population of Roumania in round figures is 18,000,000. Of this number are:

Roumanians -----	66%
Hungarians -----	15%
Germans -----	5.5%
Ruthenians and others -----	13.5%

The total population of Jugoslavia is, in round figures, 13,000,000; of this number are:

Servians -----	43.5%
Croatians -----	24.3%
Hungarians -----	9%
Germans -----	9%
Turks (Mussulmans) -----	5%
Others -----	5%*

In the foregoing figures are included the people who were torn from Hungary. Hence, if those who were formerly citizens of Hungary were added to the Hungarian percentage, the percentage of the dominating race in either one of those countries would fall below that of the percentage of the purely Hungarian stock in Hungary, which was 54.5%.

Had Hungary been mutilated in order to offer advantages to the people who were transferred to Roumania, Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia, it would be natural to expect that, among other things, better educational and economic advantages would be given to the peoples so bartered. But no such advantages were offered or found as the result of the mutilation of Hungary. What the peoples, who were transferred from Hungary to Roumania, were offered, is a striking example of the contrary. Before she was augmented by the territory cut out of Hungary, Roumania had 7,000,000 inhabitants and only 4,450 schools, while the territory torn from Hungary had 2,900,000 inhabitants of Roumanian

*These figures are taken from "Summary of Note," presented by Hungary to the Peace Conference of Paris.

descent, and Hungary had maintained for them 2,300 schools. And while the illiterates in Hungary were only 20% of the population, the percentage of illiteracy in Roumania was 66.9%. Take Jonescu, minister of foreign affairs of Roumania, fully described the illiterate condition in Roumania, when he said: "Look at the Roumanian peasants in Hungary. They are much higher in civilization than ours in the kingdom of Roumania."* The situation was somewhat better in Czechoslovakia; but about equally as bad in Jugoslavia.

Neither was there any political and economic advantage offered or given to the people who were torn away from Hungary. Roumania is an antiquated, old styled absolutistic monarchy, and she has no political advantages to offer. Czechoslovakia is now an *imitation* of a republic, the government holding its power by military force. It has no political advantages to offer to the people who were torn from Hungary. Jugoslavia is a nest of intrigues; the political rights she offers are rather scanty. Consequently, the peoples torn away from Hungary and bartered to these countries are dissatisfied and are clamoring for justice.

"The Croats complain that the Serbian-Karageorgewitch dynasty is imposing on them a bureaucracy of Court favorites from Belgrade, infinitely less efficient and more corrupt and autocratic than under the old Hapsburg administration.

"The Transylvanians are better educated and more liberal politically than are the Roumanians. They had been accustomed to a better government than Bucharest can give them. They are not content with their status."†

The situation which resulted from the mutilation of Hungary is pitifully described in a memorandum and passionate appeal filed by the Ruthenians with the Peace

*Count Teleki's "The Evolution of Hungary and Its Place in European History," p. 159.

†J. F. Bass's "The Peace Tangle," p. 204.

Conference at Paris. Reciting how Hungary had accepted them as immigrants in the past, how considerate Hungary was toward them and how they partook "in the fortunes and vicissitudes of the state which accepted them during the long run of history," and that their economic interests demanded to "keep up an economic connection with the corn producing plains of the Hungarians," the memorandum sets forth facts which are of much importance!

"Czech soldiers invaded the Ruthenian towns and villages; they put strangers in the offices of civil administration who could not understand the language of our people; they introduced into our schools and churches an alien spirit, and instead of a peaceful government, they brought terror, famine and corruption to our people.

"There are villages in which people are dying in large crowds in consequence of want of sufficient food. There are found houses from which all souls died out. In town places the soldiers are picking up and gathering together in sanitate-cars peoples who die on the streets in consequence of hunger and underfeedings."

"The annexation of the Ruthenian land to Bohemia is a most unfortunate idea. The attempt to incorporate the Ruthenian land to Bohemia is the most absurd thing. They speak an entirely different language, and they are not related racially. The economic relation of the Ruthenians to the Czechs is impossible, because the Ruthenian highlands are connected with the Hungarian lowland, just as the western slopes of the Vosges with France, the Scotch highlands with England and the Alps with the plains of Lombardy.

"The Ruthenian people are shouting for help to the Allied and Associated Powers, as well as to all the cultured nations, not to allow them to be joined to the Czech-State. We beg of you, in harmony with the Wil-

sonian principles, to have a plebiscite ordered on the Ruthenian territory.”* The plebiscite was not granted.

The reason for the mutilation of Hungary was not based upon racial grounds. That is very evident from the foregoing facts. What then was the reason for the so thorough destruction of Hungary?

There was no reason; but there was a purpose. That purpose was to create new states in the Balkans, so that neither Germany nor Russia should obtain control of the Balkans. It was, as Lloyd George frequently boasted, “to kill two birds with one stone.” By creating several states in the Balkans, a keen state rivalry was established, and a continuous controversy among the Balkan States ensued. Consequently, Germany cannot complete the Berlin-Bagdad Railway, nor can Russia obtain an ice-free port in the Balkans. And, as a natural result, the commercial and financial magnates of England and of France can hold in their power the undisputed control of the international commerce of the world. It was not national right; it was not political right; it was not economic advantage; but it was the purpose to perpetuate the power of the commercial and financial magnates of England and of France to control the commerce of the world,—that was the purpose of mutilating Hungary.

And, then, as there are always birds of prey to devour the corpses lying on the battlefield; as there are speculating camp followers in every war, so there are “financial interests” who sought concessions in the lands torn away from the body of ancient Hungary. The oil fields and the ore mines of Hungary were to be placed under the control of those who would freely hand out concessions. Upon the bleeding body of Hungary, the “financial interests” can now feast unmolested. The Peace Conference of Paris was controlled and *experted*

*“Memorandum of the Ruthenians of Hungary” to the Peace Conference of Paris. Written in English, as quoted.

by "international finance" which was not fastidious as to who should grant concessions. Gray-haired Hungary might die an unnatural death; that was of no concern to the Conference. Hungary was condemned to die, so that various groups of international financial interests might obtain concessions.

Relying upon the justice of her cause, basing her claim for justice upon her history and upon the economic unity of her territory, reminding the Peace Conference of Paris of the solemn promises of the Allied and Associated Powers, that "no people shall be bartered away as if property, and that the principles of self-determination shall not be mere empty phrase," Hungary appealed to the intelligence of the Peace Conference and to the conscience of civilized mankind to avert from her this catastrophe, and to save her from this bitter cup. Her appeals to reason and to the conscience of civilization were in vain. In vain did she tell the Peace Conference that the outrage committed against her would harm not only the Hungarians but also all mankind. The "Big Four," guided by their "experts," proceeded to and did cruelly mutilate the one thousand years old territory of Hungary.

The awful consequences of the mutilation of Hungary were foreseen by independent thinkers who were conversant with the facts, and knew the inside working of the Conference. Only the "Big Four" remained blind to the enormity of their act. The New York Tribune, on May 8, 1919, exclaimed: "Not since Rome punished Carthage for Punic faith, has such a treaty been written." "This was a maniacal aim."* The historian may term the process a drift, and the humanitarian may regret that such momentous issues should ever have been submitted to a body of uninformed politicians out of touch with the people for whose behoof they claimed to

*Boris Brasol's "The World at the Cross Roads," p. 167.

be legislating."* The utterances of President Wilson during the war "were solemn promises, agreed to by our allies and our enemies as the accepted basis of peace. The abandonment of these pledges constitutes almost a cynical acknowledgement that they were mere subterfuges—tricks intended to deceive our enemy. The moral turpitude of such action cannot be too strongly pressed on every American."† "The Treaty strikes at organization, and by the destruction of organization impairs yet further the reduced wealth of the whole community." "It is dishonorable to the Allies in the light of their profession."‡ "No honest student of European conditions can be blind to the new dangers which have been created."§

"History has no record of a more colossal diplomatic feat than this treaty."¶ "The treaties threaten to ruin conquerors and conquered. They (the treaties) have not brought peace to Europe, but conditions of war and violence. In Clemenceau's words, 'the treaties are a method of continuing war.' "||

Secretary Lansing expressed the hope that the American people would never ratify the Treaty of Paris. And finally Andre Tardieu, member of the French Cabinet and an active participant in the Paris Peace Conference, gloating over the activities of M. Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and President Woodrow Wilson,|| and referring

*Dr. E. J. Dillon's "The Inside Story of the Peace Conference," p. 138.

†J. P. Bass's "The Peace Tangle," p. 6.

‡J. M. Keynes' "The Economic Consequences of the Peace," pp. 100-1.

§C. Seymour in "What Really Happened at Paris." Edited by Colonel House. P. 107.

¶Nitti, "The Wreck of Europe," p. 24.

||Ibid, p. 127.

||In his weekly article under the title, "What the Jews of World are Doing Today," and under the sub-title, "Wilson and the Jews," Rabbi J. S. Minkin, on February 17, 1924, in the "News-Leader," Cleveland, Ohio, wrote the following eulogy:

"In the death of ex-President Wilson a great light has gone out for the American people. The weight of that loss has particularly fallen upon the Jewish people. The services which ex-President

to the peoples of the respective countries they represented, exclaimed: "May their countrymen never forget it!"*

Tardieu's wish was fulfilled. Just as soon as the American people had an opportunity to express their opinion concerning the Peace Treaty of Paris and also concerning those men who made that treaty, both the treaty and the makers thereof were repudiated. The United States Senate refused to sanction the peace treaty, and "by refusing to sanction the Treaty of Paris and all the other peace treaties, the American Senate has given proof of the soundest political wisdom."† Nitti, the ex-Premier of Italy, was so moved by the American people's and by the United States Senate's wisdom, that he exclaimed: "I place my greatest trust in the action of American democracy."‡

It is meet to recall, over the mutilated body of Hungary, the historical fact, that in the year 1848-9, when she went through the superhuman struggle to extricate herself from the clutches of Austria and while trampled under the heels of Russia, Hungary appealed to civilization to save her from annihilation; but civilization failed to act. In 1918 to 1919, Hungary again appealed to the conscience of mankind to save her from the awful fate of being mutilated and rendered helpless. Civilization again turned a deaf ear toward Hungary. Consequently, as if by a decree of an angry God, the world is still in turmoil.

"Man's inhumanity to man
"Makes countless thousands mourn."*

Wilson has rendered to the Jewish people have made his demise almost a national Jewish loss. . . . Ex-President Wilson . . . was deeply impressed with the part the Jews played in the world war, and resolved that when the time came, that service should not go unrewarded."

*Tardieu's "The Truth About the Peace Treaty," p. 186.

†Nitti's "The Wreck of Europe," p. 4 of Preface.

‡*Ibid.*

§Burns.

XXII.

THE RESULT OF THE MUTILATION OF HUNGARY

"O, pardon me, thou bleeding piece of earth,
"That I am meek and gentle with these butchers."*

The heartless mutilation of Hungary resulted in the most cruel tragedy that any member of the human family has ever experienced. It has ruined territorially, economically and nationally the Hungarian Nation which, through many vicissitudes and herculean struggles, has lived a life of honor for over one thousand years. The magnitude of the ghastliness of this tragedy is almost incomprehensible to human understanding. An English statesman, Lord Newton, defined it as "the most disastrous and senseless action for which international statesmen have been responsible."†

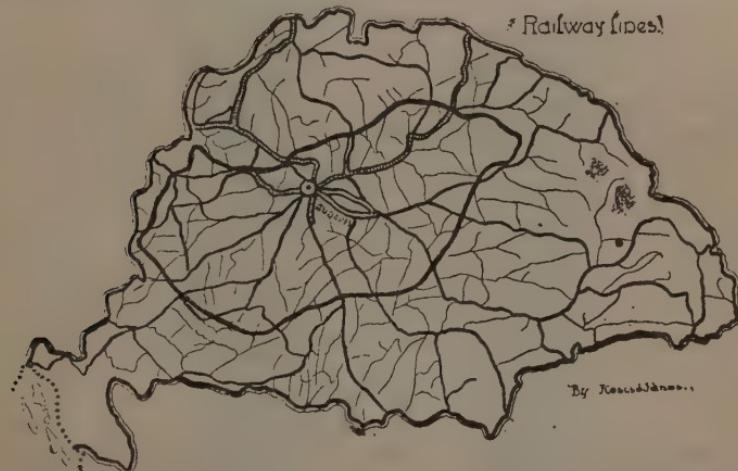
The disastrousness of this "senseless action" does not lie so much in the fact that two-thirds of her land was taken away from Hungary. That act alone, it is true, is "distastrious" enough; but the tragic result of that act is that Hungary was ruined economically and industrially. During the last one thousand years the economic and industrial building up of the country was based on and suited to the country's natural resources. Factories were built near the source of their supply, thus enhancing the economic and industrial development of the country. As the result of the mutilation of the territory of Hungary, a large number of factories were cut off from their source of supply. In many instances the factories are separated from the source of their sup-

*Julius Caesar.

†Frank Vanderlip's "What Next in Europe," p. 75.

ply only by the boundary line. Thus, the severed territory has the raw material and mutilated Hungary has the factories. The natural consequences are that the factories are idle, being unable to obtain raw materials to work into finished products.

To enhance the proper development of the country, the railroads were so built as to accommodate the natural economic needs of the country. The industrial sections

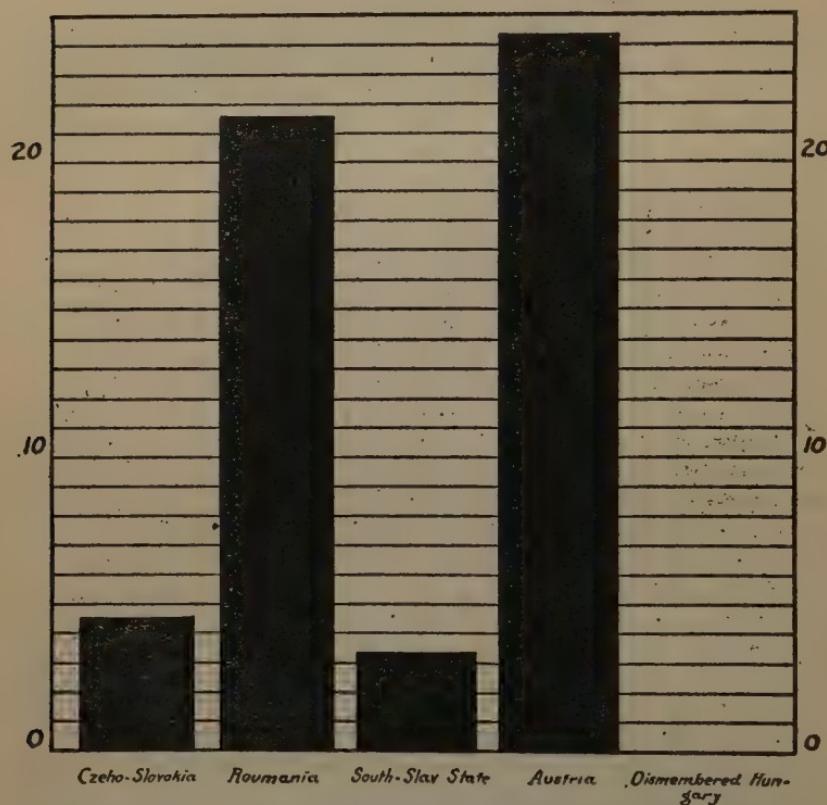


The mutilated railroads of Hungary. The line in the center indicates the new boundary line of Hungary. The territory within the circle of the line indicates what was left of Hungary. The areas beyond the new boundary line indicate the territory taken from Hungary. There are many places along the new boundary lines, where the towns or villages are in Mutilated Hungary, while the railroad stations are in Czechoslovakia, Roumania, or Jugoslavia. At such places the traveler must have a permit to cross the boundary line in order to take the train. (Redesigned from the "Economics of Hungary in Maps.")

were connected by a net of railroads to facilitate the movements of both, the raw materials and the finished products. The Peace Conference of Paris, however, cut the railroads asunder so outrageously that to reach one section from another section of mutilated Hungary, it is necessary to cross several boundary lines of the newly erected foreign states. Thus, the system of transporta-

tion was demoralized and, with that demoralization, the economic ruin of Hungary was accomplished.

This economic ruin entailed unspeakable hardships and privations upon those Hungarians who remained in that stricken country. Deprived of their food and of



Production of table salt, in kilograms, per capita of the population of the "new states." Not a single pinch of table salt was left in Mutilated Hungary.—Redrawn from Dr. L. Buday's "Dismembered Hungary," p. 131.

two-thirds of their land, the Hungarians were reduced to starvation of the sternest reality. Fleeced of their cattle, and a large part of their cattle raising land having been taken away from them, the Hungarians were left without animal fat and raw hide. Their clothing

industries having been ruined and lacking the necessary raw hides, the Hungarians were left without clothes and shoes. Their mineral oil and ore lands having been taken away from them, the Hungarians were deprived of the most primitive means of illuminating their homes during the night. And to fill the bitter cup to its very brim, all the land that contained the ordinary table salt was taken away, so that not one single pinch of salt was left in the territory of mutilated Hungary!

The cruelty of the mutilation of Hungary appears almost beyond the comprehension of the human mind. It appears well nigh unbelievable that intelligent and high minded men, such as the members of the Peace Conference were, or should have been, should let loose their rancor and impose upon a country and its people such hardships which, by their very nature, must have been aimed toward the annihilation of both. Men of all classes and conditions were reduced to poverty and starvation. Men who devoted their lives to the bettering of the conditions of their countrymen were reduced to rags. Whole families were reduced to the condition that they had only one pair of shoes, so that if the father had to leave the home for an errand or to pursue his daily vocation, the rest of the members of the family were obliged to remain at home; and, in the event the mother of the family had to leave the home, the father and the rest of the family remained at home, for the obvious reason that one pair of shoes could accommodate only one person at one time. At night there was no light in the homes, for the reason that there was neither oil nor candle. Reading in the evening became a luxury which only the exceptionally wealthy families were able to enjoy.

The timber and timber land having been taken from Hungary, there was no timber left to build homes. The hardships occasioned by the want of this necessity were unprecedented. Men and women of all walks of life, who

theretofore were accustomed to live in habitable homes, were compelled to live, with their families, in box cars standing on railroad sidings. In many instances there was no privacy, and thus thousands of people were reduced to almost primordial conditions.

The situation of the Hungarians was further aggravated by the complete stripping of the remaining part of the country of the food, clothes, farming implements and other things necessary for the sustenance of life. It will be remembered that the invading Roumanian army carried away even the door knobs, and left the country denuded. This resulted in virtual starvation. Consequently, the Hungarians were exposed to the ravages of diseases, especially to tuberculosis. But there was no food, no medicine and no hospital facilities to battle that dreadful disease; and the result was that thousands of Hungarians died. Fortunately, the great and warm heart of the American people was moved to action in behalf of dying Hungary. Enormous quantities of food, medicine and hospital supplies were rushed to Hungary. Thus the country was saved from becoming one great cemetery, holding in its bosom the intended victims of the Paris Peace Conference.

But the most cruel penalty and suffering were imposed upon the innocent babes and growing infants. Upon their birth they were tucked in tissue paper, there being no linen left in Hungary. Their emaciated mothers were unable to feed them, there being not enough nourishing food to supply the breast-food for the babies. Medical care they had none, because there was no medicine. Their bed was of straw and tissue paper. Their inheritance was disease and, then,—death. The grawsome tale of these innocent children is told in the report of the Hungarian National Children Protective Association (*Országos Gyermekegészségyügyi Társaság*) showing that, in the year 1922, eight thousand two hundred twenty (8,220) children died in Hungary and that "there are

communities and cities where not one single healthy child was found.”*

If the Neros and the Herods of the Paris Peace Conference, who were living in luxury at the time they were mutilating the one thousand years old body of Hungary, aimed to perpetrate an unprecedented international crime, let them now rejoice in the knowledge that eight thousand two hundred and twenty innocent souls had returned from Hungary, within the period of twelve months, to their Maker. Let these Neros and Herods satisfy their inglorious souls with the knowledge of the historical fact, that the result of the mutilation of Hungary surpasses any savagery that can be found anywhere on the pages of human history. For the unnecessary and uncalled-for and undeserved suffering inflicted upon the Hungarian people who remained in mutilated Hungary is without precedent in the annals of human history.

Nor did those millions of Hungarians who were bartered to the neighboring states fare any better. Political, economic and religious persecutions were visited upon them. They were forced, upon pain of expulsion or of imprisonment, to swear fealty to foreign rulers. Verily, the great principles of “self-determination” were forgotten so far as the Hungarians were concerned. On the pretext of “political reasons,” the properties of the Hungarians, in the ceded sections, are gradually taken away. The plan is to ruin economically the Hungarians in the ceded territories. Recently, a Roumanian statesman, who is a member of the Roumanian government, made this statement to the Roumanian Parliament which was considering a law of agricultural reform: “We must take away the land which is in the possession of the Hungarians and give it to the Roumanian peasants, regardless of the fact that they (the Roumanian peasants)

*“Az Est,” Budapest, July 4, 1922.

now own a sufficient amount of well husbanded land. We must make it possible that the land thus coming into the possession of the Roumanian peasant may be sold to other Roumanians, so that new Roumanian land owners may come into existence."*

The Roumanian government is not only bent upon the economic strangulation of the Hungarians who were bartered and ceded to Roumania, but also to starve them spiritually, educationally, and intellectually. The Hungarians, regardless of their religious affiliation, were deprived of their right to worship God. Their educational institutions, graded schools, academies, colleges and universities were deprived of their public nature and were brought under strict government control. Their teachers and professors were dismissed from the schools and disqualified from teaching or engaging in the practice of any other profession or mode of earning their living. The right of appeal was denied to them; and for these unfortunate teachers there was no other course left but to accept the inevitable,—to leave the land of their birth and go into exile, or else starve physically and otherwise under the cruelly taunting eyes of the inhuman Roumanian government. And the others, the millions of Hungarians bartered to Roumania, who do not possess the means of even going into exile, will be compelled to bear the yoke fastened upon their necks, until the conscience of humanity shall awaken and, rising majestically and awed by the horrible result of its own lethargy, shall lift the humiliating yoke and tantalizing burden from the necks of the outraged millions of Hungarians.

In Czechoslovakia the Hungarians are treated in a similar manner. In the territory which was cut off from the one thousand year old body of Hungary and given to Czechoslovakia, the Hungarians, whose ancestors in-

*Statement of the Hungarian Deputation to the Genoa Conference.

habited the land ever since Hungary existed, are gradually deprived of their possessions. Under various pretexts, the Hungarians are forced to sell their land at pre-war prices, but the payment therefor is made in currency of the present value. This means that in the territory ceded from Hungary to Czechoslovakia, the Hungarians are compelled to sell their land to the Czechs at the price of about fifteen dollars (American value) per acre, the pre-war value thereof being about one hundred and twenty dollars.*

While no law has been passed, as yet, in Jugoslavia to confiscate the land from the Hungarians, yet under various governmental "orders" the Hungarians are deprived of their land. This method is used to drive the Hungarians out of the land which they owned during the past one thousand years. As an example of the method used by the Servians to drive the Hungarians out of the ceded territory, the following incident gives the reader a clear impression as to the plight of the Hungarians living in the territory ceded to Jugoslavia: A high church dignitary had sent his servant to examine the doves in the dovecote built on the top of a pole. It being night time and dark, it was necessary for the servant to carry with him an oil lamp. The high dignitary was arrested and charged with being a spy. He asked that an investigation be made, so that his innocence might be established; but his request was denied. He was a Hungarian; therefore, he had to go. Without any trial or hearing, he was driven out of Jugoslavia, and his property was given to the Slavs.

These new states, created out of the body of Hungary, are gradually accomplishing their purpose. According to the statement of the Hungarian Delegation to the Genoa Conference, the following number of Hungarians were driven from their own land and place of birth:

*See Vanderlip's "What Next in Europe?"

From Roumania -----	135,390
From Czechoslovakia -----	56,657
From Jugoslavia -----	37,456
Total -----	229,503

On the other hand, two thousand college and university students who were born in the territory which was given by the Paris Peace Conference to Roumania are stranded in Budapest. These boys are not permitted by the Roumanian government to return to their homes to spend at least the summer vacation with their parents.* Thus, these two thousand young men are virtually exiled from the land of their birth.

There is a fiendish irony in all this unprecedented tragedy. The Peace Conference of Paris, with the aid and assistance of Roumania, Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia, unnecessarily but purposely reduced Hungary to an unspeakably miserable condition. Thousands of emaciated Hungarians were lying in the hospitals, writhing in pain and agony, yet no relief could be given them by reason of the lack of medicine. The wounds of the wounded could not be dressed, because there was no cotton and no medicine. Consequently, many wounded literally rotted to death. The newly born babes were wrapped in ordinary tissue paper, because no linen was left in Hungary. Finally, when the Hungarians were reduced to a condition which was next to death, the Peace Conference of Paris which had reduced Hungary to beggary, stepped forward with hypocritic magnanimity and appealed to the generosity of the American people to save from death the Hungarians whom the very same Conference had reduced to starvation and condemned to death.

You may search the pages of the history of mankind; you may penetrate into the darkest period of human

* "Transylvania in 1922," Report of the Commission of the American and British Unitarian Churches, p. 35.

existence; you may take your mental journey into the jungles inhabited by the most cruel of all savage tribes; but you will not find a more grawsome savagery than that which was perpetrated by the Peace Conference of Paris upon the Hungarian Nation. The terrible result of this savagery so greatly moved A. Algazy, one of the members of the Reparation Committee sent by the French government into Hungary in 1922, that, upon his return to Paris, he wrote an article in the "Matin," in which he exclaimed: "*In the name of decency and in the name of true humanity, Hungary must not be permitted to perish. The Hungarians must be saved. Those people are not responsible for the provocation of the world's catastrophe!*"*

The pitifully tragic condition into which Hungary was thrown is vividly described by Professor Curtis of Edinburgh, on November 4, 1920, in his report to the "Alliance of Presbyterian Churches, Eastern Section." The Alliance, "in response to repeated appeals from the Presbyterian Church of Hungary" had "endeavored, but without success, to induce the Allied Council at Paris to appoint a Commission of Inquiry to visit Transylvania." Unsuccessful with the politicians, the Alliance appointed a commission of clergymen to visit Hungary and her dissected parts and to report the conditions existing there. It is presumed that these good men of God performed their mission in the spirit of love for their fellowmen and in the spirit of consideration for the truth. Their report is untainted with prejudice; it is vivid and a pathetic representation of the truth. The members of that commission were citizens of England, a country which was an enemy of Hungary. The report, therefore, coming from citizens of an enemy country, is all the more reliable, while the personnel of the commission leaves no doubt as to the truth and the facts detailed in its report.

*Quoted in the "Virradat," Budapest, May 18, 1922.

With reference to the Hungarians living in the territory given to Czechoslovakia from the body of Hungary, the report sets forth information "which indicated that acts of oppression were being perpetrated by the Czechoslovak local authorities." The Commission considered it necessary to "confer" with President Masaryk of Czechoslovakia on the problem of toleration and justice for religious and racial minorities in Czechoslovakia.

Having traveled from one city to another and having experienced "a certain roughness and inconsiderateness which still characterized the police and passport arrangements," the Commission went to Pozsony (now Bratislava!) where it was found that:

"Lutherans and Presbyterians bore united testimony to the oppressive character of the Czechoslovak occupation and administration of the city, the suspicion with which their work was regarded, the invasion of their personal liberty and the interference with their educational system which they had experienced. The Hungarian Presbyterian congregation has lost ten educated families through expulsion and sixty-three families had been forced to leave through displacement in their occupation and livelihood by Czechs and Slovaks.

"Teachers had been expelled and school buildings seized. Grave fears were entertained for the security of the beautiful church and manse and suite of congregational buildings which had recently been erected at great expense on a commanding site."

"We could not but view with sympathy and concern the condition to which our congregations had been reduced. We wish that the new Republic (Czechoslovakia) had a more chivalrous appeal to the loyalty of an honorable people by generous and magnanimous treatment."

Concerning the condition of the Hungarians living in the territory cut out of Hungary and given to Roumania, it is reported that "valued members were driven out in families or voluntarily joining the regular service of emi-

grant trains"; and that "congregational life was straitened by military or police surveillance, apprehension and despair were in every home."

At Nagyvárad, the Commission found no room for the night in any of the local hotels; therefore, the secretarial offices of the Superintendent of the local Presbyterian churches were fitted up as bedrooms for the members of the Commission. "This act of hospitality was made an excuse by the Roumanian government for demanding no less than six furnished rooms for the family of an officer, neither the official responsibilities of the Superintendent, nor the grave illness of his gentle wife availed to stay the requisition." "The pathos of the position of the Hungarian Reformed Church people, during and after the military occupation, made a deep and unforgettable impression upon us all."

In its concluding paragraph on the situation in Transylvania (comprising about one-third of former Hungary), the report states:

"We have heard both sides upon the Transylvanian question, and we listened to both in the spirit at once of sympathy and of critical detachment. . . . We believe that for its solution on any Christian basis external mediation of some kind is profoundly desirable. We also remembered the ecclesiastical affinity and connection of the Hungarian Church with our Alliance, its long service to religion and to culture, its claim upon us for the protection of its rights and liberties, and the reality of danger that its position and ideals should not be appreciated and understood. Race and religion are so habitually identified in that part of Europe, the inherent freedom of the Christian Church is so little regarded, that one might be tempted to despair in the presence of the existing facts. We believe that the Transylvanian problem has a peculiar urgency and calls for instant handling, if peace is to be made secure and the tragedy is to be averted."

"It is our opinion that the appeal for inquiry made to us a year ago by the Hungarian Church has been justified by what we have seen and heard. We are satisfied that gross and grievous mismanagement has characterized the occupation and administration of the Hungarian territory now ceded, and the vindictive race feeling has prompted and condoned a revolting policy of terrorism, and outrage and dispossession, and restraint, of which our churches and ministers have been conspicuous victims, not, we believe, because they are Protestants, but because they are Hungarians by birth and education, and are regarded as foci of disaffection."

"Scores of ministers and office bearers had been beaten or imprisoned or threatened with death or violence. Men are imprisoned for months untried and even uncharged, by uncontrolled and irresponsible officials and police. Appeals for justice have been habitually ignored or repelled and avenged by punishment. Faithfulness to race and language is regarded as a political offense when exhibited by Hungarians."

"Church lands and forests, schools built by the Church and handed over under conditions to the Hungarian State for maintenance, have been confiscated without compensation in a fashion that even military conquest would not have justified. Church courts and committees have been and are still forbidden to meet. When this Committee held a religious meeting in a local church, the Roumanian authorities exacted ninety-two lei or francs for the privilege of worshiping in the church, the receipt for which we have retained in our hands."

"At Kézdi-Vásárhely, during our short visit a horrible and unprovoked example of race brutality was perpetrated by a gendarme who had six or seven times been reported for outrages, but without result. The victim was a helpless lad of ten years of age, who was left in an almost dying condition, his head battered and his

body a mass of shocking bruises. We thought it our duty to investigate the case in person and to report it in Bucharest (Capital of Roumania). We were driven to the conviction that the Roumanian government has made no serious attempt to restrain and control its subordinates. Hitherto it has done absolutely nothing to win the loyalty of its Hungarian subjects."

Referring to the Secret Treaty of London, the report continues:

"We believe that they (Roumanians) had reasons to count upon Transylvania as their reward for their services to the Entente, but such secret knowledge was no justification for the precipitancy of their action, from which, we are certain, the calamitous situation now existing has sprung. A stain has been imposed from the very first upon the signal extension of the Roumanian kingdom. Unless the king and his government address themselves to its removal, a certain nemesis awaits their country's future."

"The Alliance ought to know that explicit clauses were inserted in the Treaty with Roumania to prevent the creation of the situation which has arisen. We have to testify that they have been almost wholly and, as we found at Bucharest, deliberately disregarded. They are resented by responsible statesmen as incompatible with Roumania's rights. *The repudiation of their solemn obligation can have no other effect than to cancel Roumania's treaty right to the region to which they apply.*"*

In mutilated Hungary the Commission was received "with characteristic consideration and foresight." "On Monday evening we addressed a vast congregation which filled to overflowing the Calvin Square Church in Budapest, Hungary. To all of us it was a touching and solemnizing experience to address congregations belong-

*According to newspaper reports, the Unitarian Churches and also that Baptist Churches in America had come to the same conclusion.

ing to a great and proud nation which had not only suffered defeat and humiliation in war, but had passed through the successive agonies of a communist terror and a Roumanian invasion and occupation. In Hungary we were surrounded by signs of crushing misfortune, only more moving because endured in a brave and resolute spirit."

"We shall not soon forget the thrills of the state psalmody, the rapt attention, the glistening of tears on sorrow laden faces, the indescribable sounds of emotion, the peculiar appeal of the swelling national hymnus sung in unison with unhurrying intensity. *In the presence of a national sorrow and distress it called for all our reserve demand for impartiality, and political detachment, for it is notorious to friends and enemies alike that the responsibility of Hungary for the initiation of the war was less than any other of the Central Powers, that her treatment of our nationals who had to remain within her borders during the conflict was unparalleled generosity, and that the terms of the Peace Settlement press upon her with greater severity than upon Germany and Austria.* Whatever faults and errors of judgment she had been guilty of, her people moved us to admiration by their courage and their intense patriotism.

"We visited the railway sidings in which Hungarian refugees from all ceded territories had been reduced to live in thousands of trucks, in which were packed such of their household goods as they had been able to bring with them from their old homes. Some of them had left voluntarily, rather than forfeit their Hungarian allegiance, but most had been driven out into exile. All were living in extreme poverty, gentle folk, professional men, and working people together."

"It was a pitiable spectacle of the aftermath of war. And these represented only a fraction of the homeless. Budapest, in spite of its silent factories and crippled industry, had already found room and support for hun-

dreds of thousands of its war ruined compatriots. Even more pitiable were the crowded tenements in which we saw wasted and rickety children with their starving parents huddled together in misery, subsisting on scraps, and kept alive by charity.”*

When the terrible fate of the Hungarian Nation reached the ears of the Unitarian Churches of England and of the United States of America, these churches at once took definite steps to save that nation from her tragic fate. Rev. Samuel A. Eliot, President of the American Unitarian Association, states that “the officers of the American Unitarian Association have done everything in their power to show their sympathy for their brethren in Hungary,” where the Unitarian Church was born, so to speak, and was nursed in her infancy and with much sacrifice of blood brought up into a powerful Christian institution. “Communication was opened with the American delegation at Paris,” continues Rev. Eliot. “This communication was direct, for the facilities of the State Department at Washington were very courteously put at my disposal. It soon became evident that there was no hope of saving Transylvania from Roumanian occupation and rule. *It is evident that the promised surrender of Transylvania to Roumania was part of the price that England and France paid for Roumania's entrance into the war.*”†

The reader’s attention is called to the above quoted statements of Rev. Eliot. In contradicts—as every statement based upon the actual facts contradicts—the spurious claim that Hungary was mutilated for ethnic reasons, that is to say, to please the population of the severed territory. England and France “promised” Transylvania to Roumania, so that the oil fields and the

*The Report was signed by William A. Curtis, J. R. Fleming and J. MacDonalt Webster.

†Reprint from “The Christian Register,” January 15th, 1920.

mineral deposits of Transylvania may then be turned over to concession-hunter financiers.

"The authentic tales of murder, rape and robbery" spurred the British and Foreign Unitarian Association and the American Unitarian Association "not only to express their intense indignation at the cowardly brutalities practiced by the Roumanians, but also to lend material aid to the suffering fellow Unitarians in Hungary."*

Rev. W. H. Drummond was commissioned to go to Hungary and Transylvania "to secure first-hand testimony." Rev. Drummond did go to Hungary and Transylvania, and secured "first-hand testimony" which stirs to indignation every red blooded human being.

The report of Rev. Drummond details the "outrages" which were committed not by a savage tribe of cannibals living in the jungles of Africa, but by Roumanian soldiers and officials, those pet savages of England, France, the Honorable Woodrow Wilson of America and of the predatory financial interest of Europe and America. The people against whom those "atrocities" were committed were not an uncivilized people living on the outskirts of an African jungle. They were the Hungarians, the "defenders of Christianity," the "champions of democracy" and "the bulwark of civilization." And the grawsome "first-handed testimony" of Rev. Drummond vividly testifies as to how the world was made "safe for democracy." It further testifies as to what fate befalls a country and her people, whom the predatory financial interests, with the aid of political coxcombs, puny politicians and diplomats, decide, and proceed to exploit and to ruin.

Rev. Drummond details "nineteen examples" from among "seventy distinct cases" of "bodily sufferings" of the Transylvanian Hungarians. Many other incidents

*Ibid.

are not reported, because they are "too bestial for publication." The printable atrocities are as follows:

"1. In the beginning of January, 1919, the Lutheran minister of Lupény was arrested by the Roumanians without any proper reason. Through a hole in the ice covering the river Zsil he was thrust into the ice-cold water, and whenever emerging therefrom shots were fired over his head. Thus they forced him to shout, "Setreasca Roumania mare!" (Long live Roumania!). The same was done with Francis Hatzlhofer, chief notary of the town, and others."

This was not so bad! The world had to be made "safe for democracy." And the Roumanian soldiers,—aye, the Roumanian soldiers, were commissioned by England, France, Woodrow Wilson and others to start the work of making the world "safe for democracy!" But to return to the report—

"2. Illona Nagy, actress of Kolozsvár, was traveling, provided with a Roumanian permit, to her wedding. At Zam the Roumanians arrested her, stripped her naked, and flogged her. She had to lie in bed as a consequence for several weeks."

This, it is presumed, is getting near the great democratic principles and civilization which England, France, Woodrow Wilson and others desired to spread in Europe. The Roumanian soldiers clearly indicated how well they are fitted to spread this new kind of civilization!

"3. Lieut. John Vigh of Kolozsvár was arrested by the Roumanians on January 24, 1919, and was flogged nine times. From the pain he turned mad, and at present he is under treatment in an insane asylum."

This, of course, happened when the Peace Conference of Paris was sitting. The Presbyterian, Unitarian and Baptist churches of both continents sent their most indignant protests to the Conference and demanded that Roumania be compelled to stop the perpetration of these horrible atrocities upon the Hungarians. But the Peace

Conference was deaf. How could they stop those savage agents of the Conference-made "democracy?" Did not the financial interests want the oil and minerals of Transylvania? Did the financial interests ever use any other method to obtain concessions and wealth?

"4. Mary Koller of Csucsa was lifted upon the back of a soldier, then her body was uncovered, and thus she was beaten. Her father, Bernard Koller, was dealt with likewise, and in addition he was struck in his face several times."

The foregoing "examples" are horrible enough. It would seem that sheer self-respect and ordinary human decency should have compelled the chief actors in the "tragic-comedy" of the Peace Conference of Paris to revolt against these atrocities. If no other man in that Peace Conference, Woodrow Wilson, who preached high ideals and principles, should have used every influence he had to curb the savageries of the Roumanian soldiers; but Woodrow Wilson made no move. Now, when the truth is told, let those well meaning but mistaken American citizens who still desire to revive the "Wilsonian principles" in European politics, read example 5 of Rev. Drummond's report. When they shall have read it, let them ask themselves the question: "In the name of human decency, should our Christian civilization tolerate the existence of an international situation that permits the perpetration of such an outrage and revolting savagery?" If the sacred privilege of motherhood means anything to civilized mankind, let womanhood of the civilized countries take notice of the following example of Roumanian atrocity committed upon a Hungarian woman who was in the state of pregnancy:

"5. At Sepsiszentgyörgy a woman of good family, being in pregnancy, was sentenced to twenty-five strokes. At the fifth stroke she died!"

Let the reader read on—

"6. The wife of a railway attendant on the line

Kolozsvár-Nagyvárad was ravished by Roumanian soldiers thirty-seven times!"

The reader should remember that the American government has made a loan of an enormous sum of money to Roumania. This loan was made out of the money the American people paid for Liberty Bonds on which we are now, and will be for many years, paying the interest. Without an American loan, Roumania and Roumanian soldiers could not commit such atrocities; for, without American aid, they could not have invaded Hungary and could not now hold Transylvania.

"7. Alexander Lupite, Hungarian gendarme, was beaten on January 19, 1919, by the Roumanian soldiers and by Roumanian villagers. In consequence of the wounds he received he died soon afterward."

"8. Eugene László, station master at Székelykocsárd, was summoned before the Roumanian commander of the station and, under the charge of being late at his duties, was struck in the face so that blood streamed from his face and mouth."

"9. Julius Mihály, a railway official at Székelykocsárd, was ordered by Major Paul Anastaziade to be beaten by his soldiers. He became physically unfit for further service."

"10. Gabriel Bercz, a railway attendant on the line Piski-Petrozsény, was beaten on February 2, 1919, by the Roumanian second lieutenant Merisoronegy, because he would not shout cheers for Greater-Roumania."

Well, the world had to be made "safe for democracy." England, France, Woodrow Wilson and the financial interests seemed to have made a very ingenious choice in the selection of the agents of the new style "democracy."

"11. From Hetufalu nine farmers were escorted by a detective and Roumanian gendarme to Ploesti (Roumania), where they were beaten so fiercely that one of their number died of his wounds. The judge by whom they were examined at Ploesti released four of them,

that they might return home and fetch him a team of horses with carriage, one cow, two fattened pigs, and three sacks of grain. On the arrival of these gifts all were set free."

One may have a reserved amount of respect for that Roumanian judge for recognizing his own brutal hogishness and demanding payment therefor in hogs.

"12. A woman teacher, Miss Chiky, of Alsórákos, was punished with fifty strokes because she protested against the Roumanian soldiers robbing the school children of their shoes when leaving school."

Thus it is evident that it is not a very pleasant job to teach the Hungarian children and protect them from robbery under the Roumanian flag which floats in Transylvania at the expense of the American people.

"13. A Hungarian peasant named Dodo was not able to go out of the way with his team of oxen when meeting an automobile in a narrow passage. One of the Roumanian officers sitting in the automobile fired his revolver at him. The peasant was brought to a hospital with a shot in his liver."

"14. At Felsöszilág all the Jews were arrested, flogged and their homes plundered. Afterwards, twenty-one of them were killed."

"15. In Zilah, during September, a Roumanian soldier called upon Dr. Nicholas Kincs, the chief physician of the town, asking him in the name of the Roumanian army doctor for the loan of certain medical instruments. When these were returned to Dr. Kincs he missed some of the pieces lent and reclaimed them. For this he was dragged from his home and was dealt out ten strokes upon his soles and fifteen upon his posterior."

16. Sebo, station master of Lupény, was flogged on January 21. On January 27 he was brought in shackles to Petrozsény, and while in prison was given daily twenty-five strokes."

"17. At Zilah, Berta Tugonyi, was ravished by Roumanian soldiers."

"18. At Felvincz a company of Hungarians, peacefully entertaining themselves in a restaurant, were driven out on the street and shots were fired at them, and several were wounded. These latter (the wounded) were stripped of their clothes and robbed of everything. Thereupon the Roumanian soldiers entered every house on the streets where light was seen, accusing the inhabitants of these of having taken part in the company they dispersed. Under this charge, Stephen Daczo, seventy-two years of age, and former commissioner of woods, Horvath, eighty years of age, were dragged from their homes."

"19. Stephen Lörincz of Kapolnakisfalu was beaten because he refused to swear allegiance to Roumania. Then with one hundred and thirty others he was sent to Bucharest (Capital of Roumania), where they were forced to work and kept on incredibly bad food and under cruel treatment. One of his companions, Albert Bocsi, was cut by the Roumanian soldiers on his arms; another, Stephen Raday, on his side; their wounds being then strewn with red pepper. A number of them died in consequence of the treatment allotted to them."

These printable outrages and inhuman atrocities were written by Rev. Drummond on October 30, 1919, and his report was published in The Christian Register, January 15, 1920. At these outrages Christian civilization should blush, especially for the reason that these inhumanities were made possible only with the money furnished to Roumania by the two great Christian nations, namely England and the United States of America. These things should be remembered when Roumania applies to these two countries for another loan and when the international financiers "propose" to invest the money of the people of these countries in another loan to Roumania.

The Roumanian soldiers and officials treated the

Hungarian Roman Catholics just as atrociously as they treated the Protestants. From the report of Transylvanus Viator we quote a few examples of the atrocities committed by the Roumanian soldiers and officials upon the Hungarian Roman Catholics in Transylvania:

"Roumanian violence spares neither the Protestant nor Unitarian bishop residing in Kolozsvár, yet the worst persecution is inflicted on the Catholic bishop. He is cut off from the Holy See as well as from communication with Hungarian Catholics. Since December, 1918, the Roumanians withheld from him not only the Hungarian Catholic periodicals, but even the "Acta Apostolicae Sedis," etc. The various Roumanian authorities, military and civil, are continually harassing the bishop and interfering with him."

Bishop Milath, a devoted servant of God and a splendid gentleman, was continuously harassed while going about his duty. By one military authority he was given a permit to go to a Catholic Convocation. Another military authority threatened to arrest him if he would go. When he arrived at Kolozsvár, where the Convocation was held, he was arrested. Afterward, wherever he went, he was escorted by soldiers. Finally, in 1919, the Roumanian Colonel Gain set the rumor afloat that Bishop Milath was a Bolshevik. But when an explanation was asked as to the reason for the statement, this answer was given: "*There can be no doubt that Bishop Milath professes Bolshevism, for he is always so plainly dressed, and he has a kind word for every poor man he addresses as 'My dear son.'*"

The Roumanian government had employed a journalist, "a certain Mr. Baerlin (probably a Jew)," as an *agent provocateur* and sent him to Bishop Milath. Although the Bishop merely praised Cardinal Mercier of Belgium for his "upright and patriotic behavior," the next day he was imprisoned in his home. It was a hardship to be

a Hungarian and a Roman Catholic bishop at one and the same time!

The Roman Catholic Clergy, in general, were mistreated and tortured by the Roumanian soldiers and officials. The Rev. Louis Stenczel, while walking on the street, was surrounded by Roumanian soldiers. He was arrested and dragged into the guard-room where he was stripped and severely flogged. "When he swooned, his tormentors fearing that he might die on their hand, hastily dressed him and threw him into a cell, whence he was next day released without any reason being assigned for the outrage."

"Rev. Louis Blaise, vicar of the small town of Lupény, a priest held in the highest esteem, was at night time dragged from his bed by a gang of Roumanian soldiers, who forced him to cross the half-frozen river, urging him forward with the butt end of their rifles, and alarming him with shots fired over his head. When arrived on the opposite bank he was seized and flung into a bare, unheated room and left there to starve."

These are only a few printable examples of what the Hungarian Roman Catholic Clergy had to suffer in Transylvania at the hands of the Roumanian soldiers and officials.* These atrocities were carried to such a degree, the miseries and sufferings of all Christians, Protestants and Roman Catholics, had become so acute that the papal nuncio was moved to send to the sufferers this brief message: "PATIENCE."

What a message! What a word! Although containing one single word, yet it had carried a wonderful sermon. "PATIENCE!" This outrage cannot continue long. Christian Civilization cannot remain unmoved at the sight of this terrible situation. "PATIENCE!" Christian Hungary shall not die!

*See full report in "East European Problems. In Transylvania. No. 19-20 By Transylvanus Viator."

After the reading of the foregoing reports, the question involuntarily is raised in one's mind: "If these are the terrible and uncalled-for consequences of the mutilation of Hungary, why is it that the great peoples of England and of the United States of America permit the continuance of such horrible injustice?" The simple answer is this: "The war which is used as a pretext for this calamity was not the peoples' war; consequently, the "peace" following that war is not the peace of the peoples. The world war was fought with an ulterior purpose; and that purpose was to secure for the British and French—shall it be said also for the American?—international financiers the power to control international commerce, and, with it, to control the world, body and soul. The creation of the "new states" in the Balkans was not done for the benefit of the people living in the "new states"; it was done in order to divide the Balkans into rival states and peoples and thereby to render impossible the completion of the Berlin-Bagdad Railway, and also to cut off Russia from an open and ice-free seaport in the Balkans. That was the purpose in the mutilation of Hungary and in the creation of "new states" in the Balkans; but the people of England and of the United States of America, as a matter of cold fact, had nothing to say and had no hand in the execution of that purpose.

But, while the people of these two countries are innocent of the horrible crime committed by the Peace Conference of Paris against Hungary, they have paid dearly for the perpetuation of that crime. Neither Czechoslovakia, nor Roumania, nor Jugoslavia could obtain, by their own ability, and retain in their possession the amputated parts of Hungary without the money of the English and of the American people. To enable the "new states" to hold the amputated parts of Hungary, the English and the American people, through their governments, have loaned the "new states" the following

amounts of money according to the report* of the Secretary of the United States Treasury:

The obligations of these "new states" to the United States up to November 15, 1922, were:

Czechoslovakia -----	\$106,292,205.00
Roumania -----	41,992,599.00
Servia (Jugoslavia) -----	59,098,683.00
<hr/>	
Total -----	\$207,383,487.00

France reports that she made the following loans to these "new states": To—

Jugoslavia -----	500,000,000 gold francs
Other allies, incl. Roumania -----	1,250,000,000 gold francs
<hr/>	
Total -----	1,750,000,000 gold francs

England up to March 21, 1921, loaned to: (in pounds)†	
Servia, including all of Jugoslavia -----	£ 24,086,543
Czechoslovakia -----	2,417,392
Roumania -----	22,688,388
France -----	557,039,507

England has received a loan from the United States of America in the sum of £4,135,318,359.00. France has received from the United States of America \$3,844,132,-250.00. Hence, both England and France have practically loaned to the "new states" the money received from the United States of America.

These figures speak more convincingly than words, and they reveal a tremendous truth. That truth is this: Neither one of these debtor States would be sufficient security for the enormous amounts loaned to them. These loans cannot be collected from Hungary, because

*See "World's Almanac, 1923," pp. 146-147.

†Keyne's "A Revision of the Treaty," p. 239.

none of them were received by Hungary. The amputation of Hungary, therefore, and the giving the parts sliced off from the body of Hungary to the debtor states was necessary to increase and enlarge the security for these loans. It is, therefore, clear that the inhuman treatment accorded to Hungary was not prompted by a mere feeling of justice toward the "new states"; but that it was a cold business proposition to secure and make safe these enormous loans. And the irony of it all is the fact that not even the interest has been paid on these loans, and the outlook is that it will never be paid. The people of England and the people of the United States of America must pay that interest.

The outrage committed against Hungary is felt not only by the Hungarian people but by all the peoples of the civilized world. Hungary feels it, because she was ruined economically and incapacitated nationally. The peoples of other countries feel it because they are burdened with heavy taxes, so that the unspeakable condition created in and around Hungary may be perpetuated. To the American people the mad scramble of the international financiers for wealth in Europe and the amputation of Hungary have cost thus far the enormous sum of \$7,186,834,085.00 in loans only to European countries, not to speak of the human lives lost. To the English people the costs in money and human lives are even more.

The natural question now is this: "What benefit has been obtained by any of the peoples of the world from this situation?" Let the actual facts be the answer. The "new states," Roumania, Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia, at the command of France, have armed themselves heavily. The burden of the armament is so heavy that England and France are pouring their money into these "new states" in order to prevent them from going into bankruptcy. The people of the "new states" are not benefited; nor are the people of England, France and the

United States of America receiving any benefit,—they are paying heavy taxes. There is no peace. The whole world is in a turmoil. The world is not safe for democracy. International commerce is not moving. The only groups of men who are benefited by this situation are the groups which are manipulating in international finance and exploiting their ill-gotten concessions. Instead of a better world, we see discontentment and dissatisfaction everywhere. International morality has disappeared. There is no international justice. International intelligence and international conscience, hand in hand, have fallen into bankruptcy. Instead of a world "safe for democracy," we have a world wallowing in hypocrisy.

XXIII.

MUTILATED HUNGARY FLEECED UNDER THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

The Peace Treaty in which the doom of Hungary was written was signed at Trianon, on July 4th, 1920. It is, therefore, known as the "Treaty of Trianon." It is prefaced by the Covenant of the so-called "League of Nations."

Ever since the text of the League of Nations has been made public, there has been a great deal of controversy as to its merits and demerits, as well as of the peace treaties for the enforcement of which the League of Nations was organized. The United States Senate has rejected both the League of Nations and all the peace treaties to which the League of Nations is attached.

The League of Nations is not a new invention. It is a modern form of the "Holy Alliance" and of the "Quadruple Alliance" which were organized by the Congress of Vienna in 1815. It will be remembered that the Holy Alliance and the Quadruple Alliance were organizations of the absolute monarchs of Europe, who divided Europe among themselves, without permitting the people to say whether they wanted to live under the yoke of those monarchs. The object of these two organizations was to hold the millions of European peoples in virtual slavery. But these peoples refused to live as slaves; therefore, both the Holy Alliance and the Quadruple Alliance died a contemptible death.

The League of Nations is similar in type to the Holy Alliance and to the Quadruple Alliance. After Europe and a part of Asia were divided among the victorious nations,—after millions of peoples were bartered from

one country to other countries,—after the full control of international commerce, industry and finance was obtained by the international financial groups of the Triple Entente,—after millions of European people were reduced to starvation, privation and economic incompetency, the League of Nations was organized admittedly to perpetuate the conditions created by the Paris Peace Conference. After having committed an unprecedented international crime against hundreds of millions of European peoples,—after having reduced hundreds of millions of human beings to economic slavery,—after having enthroned the Triple Entente financial groups,—after having turned over to those vultures European Christendom, and after having outraged the most noble sentiment of humanity and of Christian civilization, with the aid, advice and counsel of the Jewish “advisers” and “experts,” the Paris Peace Conference proceeded to fasten upon the neck of suffering mankind the League of Nations, in order that the Entente international financiers might rule regnant everywhere in Europe, Asia and also in the United States of America. Not since the year 1815 was such a gigantic attempt made to subject humanity to such a colossal international outrage.

In the preamble of the Covenant of the League of Nations the world is unctuously told that the peoples of the world now unite “in order to promote international co-operation; to achieve international peace and security; not to resort to war; that open and honorable relations should exist between nations; maintenance of justice,” and “a scrupulous respect for all treaties,” etc. That is as much as to say: “By the peace treaty we have reduced you to an economic incompetency; we have elevated ourselves to the throne to rule over your body and soul; we have taken away your property and your God-given right to live the life of civilized human beings; we have bartered you like dumb animals, so that

you are now our economic slaves; now you shall have a "scrupulous respect" for our determination, and you shall "not resort to war"; but by allowing us to continue to be your task-master, you shall "achieve international peace and security for us." The "advisers" and "experts" around the so-called "Big Four" were no fools. They knew how to cut their pound of flesh. They knew—we beg to repeat—that no Portia was present to insist that no yoke should be placed upon the neck of suffering humanity.

Articles 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 of the Covenant of the League of Nations refer merely to the organization of the League. Any nation may become a member of the League. The League shall act through an Assembly and also through a Council, with a permanent Secretary. The Assembly shall consist of the Members of the League and it shall meet "from time to time as occasion may require." "The Assembly *may* deal at its meeting with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the World." At the meeting of the Assembly each Member of the League *shall* have one vote, and *may* have not more than three Representatives."

The Council also "shall meet from time to time as occasions may require, and at least once a year." It "*may* deal at its meeting with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the World." Any member of the League not represented on the Council shall be invited to send representative to sit as a member at any meeting of the Council *during the consideration of matters specially affecting the interest of that Member of the League*. At the meetings of the Council each Member of the League represented on the Council shall have one vote and one Representative only.*

*Article 4.

Thus we have in the League of Nations two deliberative bodies, the Assembly and the Council, each having identical rights and duties, viz., each "*may deal at its meetings with any matter within the sphere of action of the League or affecting the peace of the world.*" Which of these deliberative bodies shall have the deciding vote? For some reason or other, the answer to that question was omitted from the Covenant. So that, thus far, the League of Nations is "three in one": The League, the Assembly and the Council. So far as the World is concerned, no one knows which is which of this triple organization.

The "decisions at any meeting of the Assembly or of the Council shall require the agreement of all the Members of the League represented at the meeting." That is to say, the decisions of each of these deliberating bodies shall be had by a unanimous vote. An exception is made to this rule in case of "appointment of committees" where the decision shall be "by a majority of the Members of the League represented at the meeting."*

In article 8 "the Members of the League recognize that the maintenance of peace requires the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations." In the reduction of armament "the geographical situation and circumstances of each State," shall be taken into account.

According to the League of Nations, the guns, ammunitions and armies of the various countries of the world are the basic causes of war. If this reasoning is carried a little further, we may find that the fists of men who fight for self-protection, or otherwise, are the causes of the fight; therefore, to avoid a fistic fight, the fists ought to be reduced "to the lowest point consistent" with human safety. And what a beautiful world we should

*Article 5.

have if we should proceed on the theory that men fight with their fists for the sole reason that they have fists! What would the American, the English and French peoples think of their law-making bodies if they would pass a law which declared that the basic cause of fist fights is that men have fists; and then would proceed, by implication, to say that economic causes and controversies, the violation of individual and personal rights, the unwarranted assaults upon women and children, the unwarranted assaults upon peaceful pedestrians on the public highways by thugs, robbers and murderers are hereby declared not to be causes of fist fights, but that the causes thereof are the fists of men?

The declaration in Article 8 of the League of Nations, that "the reduction of national armaments" is the basic remedy to eliminate wars is just as absurd as the above presumption is. Wars are caused by economic rivalry. The last World War was caused by the rivalries of various groups of international financiers. The armies of the various warring countries were controlled by international financiers. The armies, therefore, were merely tools in the hands of various groups of international financiers. Who has ever claimed, who has ever heard the claim that the United States of America entered into the World War simply because we had an army? Did we fight the Revolutionary War simply because we had an army? Did we fight the war of 1812 simply because we had a navy? Would the "reduction" of our armament have eliminated the basic causes of those wars? Did we not have peace after we had obtained our independence and after England had recognized the right of the American citizens to traverse the seas unmolested? Would we not have peace in Europe, would the European nations have any reason to maintain large armies, if a handful of human leeches were not keeping up a keen rivalry for the control of international commerce and finance?

By the Peace Treaty and by the League of Nations

the "national armaments" of the vanquished were "reduced"; yet there is no peace in Europe. Look at the army of France! Look at the armies of Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, Poland and Roumania, all of which are supported by France and England with money indirectly squeezed out of the pockets of the American people! Germany has no army, Hungary has no army. Has the "reduction" of national armament secured peace? Is there any indication that Europe will have peace as long as a handful of international buccaneers will hold the European peoples by their throats? Of course not!

Article 10, which was much discussed in the United States Senate, insures the holdings and booty obtained by the victorious countries from the defeated countries. It says:

"The Members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all Members of the League. In case of any aggression or in case of any threat or danger of such aggression, the Council shall advise upon the means by which this obligation shall be fulfilled."

The full and unmistakable meaning of Article 10 is this: The American people are not in accord with the Roumanian idea of outraging, raping and murdering of Hungarian young girls and older women in the Hungarian territory ceded to Roumania. In fact, the American Christian people believe and have already insisted that such outrageous treatment of Hungarian motherhood and womanhood should cease. Now, if the Hungarian men should rise and demand from the Roumanian government the safety and protection of Hungarian motherhood, that action would at once be construed as a "threat of aggression." The American people would have to send an American army to Roumania to protect the Roumanians in the performance of their diabolical act and, at the same time, prevent the Hungarians from

protecting Hungarian womanhood and motherhood from the ravages of Roumanian soldiers. Our army would kill a few thousand Hungarians and then it would return to this country. Then we would have the glorious feeling of having once more saved the world "for democracy."

This is one of the reasons why the United States Senate has rejected the League of Nations with its covenant and treaty. This is one of the reasons why suffering mankind is hoping that the so-called League of Nations will die a well deserved death.

Article 11 defines the jurisdictional subject of the League. "Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the Members of the League or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the whole League, and the League shall take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of the world." It is to be noted that in this Article the League assumes the prerogative of taking "any action that may be deemed wise." It may be further noted that if the officers of the League should be men similar to the members of the Paris Peace Conference, the safety of the world would be seriously jeopardized, as it was jeopardized by the Paris Peace Conference.

Article 12 sets forth that "the Members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report by the Council." This means simply this: the Members of the League may resort to war if they so desire; but they shall have ample time for preparation for war.

Article 13 designates a court of arbitration which "shall be agreed on by the parties to the dispute." Any "dispute which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy" will be submitted to arbitration. The Mem-

ber of the League, which complies with the award, will not be attacked by the other members of the League.

For the convenience of the Members of the League, Article 14 proposes the establishment of a "permanent Court of International Justice." "The Court shall be competent to hear any dispute of an international character *which the parties submit to it.*" The Court may also give an advisory opinion upon any dispute or question referred to it by the Council or by the Assembly.

If the Members of the League refuse or fail to submit their dispute to arbitration, it is provided in Article 15 that "they will submit the matter to the Council." The decision of the Council will be made public. If the decision of the Council is unanimous, the parties to the dispute must comply therewith. But if the Council fails to come to a unanimous decision, "the Members of the League reserve themselves the right to take such action as they shall consider necessary for the maintenance of right and justice." Such action may be a free-for-all fight, so far as Article 15 is concerned.

This same Article includes a provision which emasculates the League, or, if you please, extracts its teeth. This is the provision: "*If the dispute between the parties is claimed by one of them, and is found by the Council to arise out of a matter which by international law is solely within the domestic jurisdiction of that party, the Council shall so report, and shall make no recommendation.*"

This is a double-edged provision. One of the edges aims at preserving the sovereign right of each nation within its own boundaries. For example, it is the sovereign right of the United States of America to regulate its own immigration law, without the interference of the League. There is no objection to this edge of the provision.

The other edge of this provision is viciously sharp. It aims at and cuts the very arteries of the rights of subjugated and enslaved nations. For instance, Ireland

may want to secede from England; and the whole world, including the League of Nations, may believe that it is for the best interests of the Irish people that Ireland should separate herself from England; yet, if England declares that the question is within her domestic jurisdiction, and the Council so finds it, Ireland would find herself arrayed against the League of Nations and, of course, would be compelled to submit to England's pleasure. Or, if the thousands of German people in the Ruhr Valley would declare that they will no longer submit to starvation merely to satisfy the international financiers who are having the French army to fight for their control of the coal and iron supply of Europe, the matter would be found—evidently the League of Nations has found it—to be a matter of "domestic jurisdiction" on the part of France to extract from the bowels of the Ruhr Valley as much as she can, even by resorting to international rape and murder, politely called "war." Or, if the ten-odd millions of Hungarians who are robbed, raped, murdered, starved and impoverished in the territories ceded to Roumania, Czechoslovakia and Jugoslavia should appeal—as they already have appealed—to the League of Nations, the countries mentioned would—as they actually did—declare the matter within their "domestic jurisdiction."

To give a concrete illustration. Through Adachi, Japan's representative on the League, Hungary appealed to the League and asked that Roumania be compelled to respect and adhere to the peace treaty and to respect the personal and property rights of the Hungarians in the Hungarian territory ceded by the Paris Peace Conference to Roumania. The appeal was heard by the League on April 24, 1913. Roumania declared that the subject matter of the appeal was within Roumania's "domestic jurisdiction." The League left the matter where it was.

Now supposing that Hungary should follow the precedent established by the United States of America,

when she went down to Cuba and freed the Cuban people from virtually the same conditions now prevailing in the Hungarian territory ceded to Roumania, what would happen? That is not very hard to tell. The reader will remember that the Presbyterian, the Unitarian and Baptist churches of England and America have made an investigation into those conditions. In their report they insisted that the conditions created by Roumania must not be permitted to be continued, or the treaty with Roumania should be revoked. This is exactly the position the Christian people of England and America have taken. Yet, if Hungary should consider the hardships of the Hungarians living in the ceded territories a matter of "domestic jurisdiction" and should proceed to right the wrong inflicted upon those Hungarians, American men and women would have to send their sons to protect the Roumanians in their outrageous acts and, at the same time, fight the Hungarians, although the Hungarians would be doing that which every red blooded American and English Christian man or woman would do.

Or take another example. Certain American oil interests have obtained from Turkey valuable oil concessions. This is known as the Chester Oil Concession. This was done on the theory that the American financiers have the right to deal with any nation on this earth. But certain English and French financiers disputed the right of the American financiers to obtain concessions from Turkey. In addition, these antagonistic financiers have purchased most of the stock in the Berlin-Bagdad Railway. Now, then, suppose the United States would present her claim concerning the right of her citizens to do business with Turkey, is there any hope in the mind of anybody that the League of Nations would say that the claims of England and France, in behalf of their financiers and in behalf of the English-French new owners of the Berlin-Bagdad Railroad are not matters

of "domestic jurisdiction?" Then what would result? War!

These lines are written on May 2, 1923. It is predicted that before these lines reach the press the total disability of the League of Nations will be fully demonstrated;* for until the nations of the world unite to eliminate the basic causes of international conflicts, until the world is freed from the domination of the international financiers, the unctuous words relating to disarmament will be mere words, and the world will remain in chaos.

The foregoing, then, is, in the main, the League of Nations. We shall now show briefly how mutilated Hungary has been and is being fleeced under the League of Nations.

The Treaty of Trianon and the League of Nations forbid Hungary even to complain or to call the attention of Christian civilization to the terrible condition into which she has been thrown.† The Treaty of Trianon and the

*In the Italo-Græco controversy the League of Nations admitted its inability to function. The Council of Ambassadors, a "nondescript organization," which is not connected with the League of Nations, assumed control of and settled the affair. So far as the world is concerned, the League of Nations is dead. Senator Oscar W. Underwood, Alabama, candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination, and formerly an advocate of the League of Nations, is reported to have "changed his mind about the League of Nations." He is reported to have said that "the failure of the League to function in the dispute between Italy and Greece has had much to do with the change" of his opinion.—Quoted from the "Cleveland Press," September 21, 1923.

†In the summer of 1923, Admiral Nicholas Horthy, Governor of mutilated Hungary, delivered an address at Karcag, in Hungary. He stated that: "England and Italy have already admitted that the peace of Europe cannot be accomplished by the help of the newly created small 'states'; but that the only way to bring about peace is to restore Hungary to her former historical territory. The good intention of these countries (England and Italy) are weightier than that of the small inimical countries around Hungary." The Treaty of Trianon and the League of Nations forbade the Hungarian press to publish that speech. It was published in Vienna. One wonders what would happen, what would the League of Nations do, if a Hungarian would state in Hungary, that Christian America's opinion is weightier than that of Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Roumania? What would

League of Nations would seal the lips of Hungary. Indeed, truly has Francesco Nitti, ex-Prime Minister of Italy, said: "*This poor great country (Hungary), which saved both civilization and Christianity, has been treated with a bitterness that nothing can explain. After the war every one wanted some sacrifice from Hungary, and no one dared to say a word of peace or good will for her.*" With admirable courage and Christian fortitude, Nitti added: "*The international financiers hate Hungary because of the acts of violence committed against the Jews. So Hungary suffers all the injustices without defense, all the miseries without help, and all the intrigues without resistance.*"*

The international financiers are not satisfied with having mutilated the one thousand year old territory of Hungary, nor with having reduced her to an economically incompetent cripple. They have started and are still conducting a financial war against her. The value of the Hungarian currency has been reduced to almost a nullity. Before the world war, the value of one American dollar was five Hungarian crowns. Today† one American dollar will buy about *one hundred thousand Hungarian crowns!*

The significance of and the hardship created by this financial war against Hungary are illustrated by the following hard facts: Hungary was stripped practically of all her timber, iron, coal, oil, gold, silver, two-thirds of her land, all of her table salt and a large part of her agricultural and most of her cattle raising land. Her producing industries were crippled and reduced to an incompetency. Hence, she is compelled to purchase most, if not all, of the raw materials used in the manufacturing of the most necessary articles, such as clothes and

the League of Nations do, if a Hungarian should propose in Hungary that Hungary should appeal her case to the conscience of Christian civilization?

* "The Wreck of Europe," pp. 164 and 165.

† April 1, 1924.

farming implements. At the low rate of the Hungarian currency it is almost impossible to purchase the necessary raw materials from foreign countries. On the other hand, her agricultural products, if she has any, she is compelled to sell at a low rate of exchange. To be brief and specific, it requires one to be a multi-millionaire in Hungary to be able to fit up an ordinary cobbler shop with machinery and raw materials purchased from America. Three hundred dollars value of American commodity would cost a Hungarian about thirty million of Hungarian crowns. This means, of course, that Hungary cannot purchase from America.

The devaluation of the Hungarian currency affects very seriously the very life of the men, women and children living in mutilated Hungary. The cost of living is extremely high and the income of the wage earners and professional men is comparatively small. The suffering of those men, women and children are serious enough to challenge the attention of Christian civilization. It has actually happened, among other things, that as late as the year 1922 one of the judges of the higher courts of Budapest was unable to purchase for himself a shirt, so he went about his duty without a shirt on his body, covering his shirtlessness by turning up the collar of his coat. This is what the "hate," and the financial war, of the international financiers against Hungary means to millions of unfortunate men, women and children living in Hungary which "the international financiers hate."

Perhaps the reader will be interested in the further working out of this financial war. The following is a clear example: A few years ago a beautiful palace, an exact duplicate of the Palazzo Strozzi in Florence, was sold in Budapest for twenty million German marks to a German insurance company. At that time one hundred German marks were worth a little over seven Swiss francs. Thus the purchase price was one and one-half million Swiss francs. According to the agreement, the

insurance company paid the interest on the purchase price until October 7, 1923, when the entire purchase price was paid. By reason of the devaluation of the German marks and of the Hungarian crowns, the German insurance company paid the full purchase price in the sum of one hundred thousand Hungarian crowns, or in American value *one dollar*.

Another glaring example is the following: About seventeen years ago this writer loaned six hundred good American dollars to a Hungarian. A Hungarian mortgage was given for the sum of fifteen hundred Hungarian crowns. Since the mortgage was to be placed on a property situated in Hungary, the loan was to be paid back in Hungarian currency. If that loan, together with six per cent interest thereon, was to be paid back today in Hungarian value, this writer would receive less than *two American cents*. Or, if the loan would be paid back in American value, the debtor would have to pay 60,000,000 Hungarian crowns! Such is the havoc the international financiers worked against Hungary.

In addition to the foregoing hardships, mutilated and starving Hungary was bled by various military "missions" which were sent there by the victorious "Allied and Associate Powers" to supervise the miseries of the Hungarians, at the expense of Hungary. In order to avoid any doubt as to the enormity of this situation, we quote from the book, "The Wreck of Europe," written by Francesco Nitti, ex-Premier of Italy. Nitti says:

"The most rapacious war profiteers, both civil and military, have had themselves appointed upon commissions of control for the disarmament of the conquered and the execution of the treaties, and nearly all of them run up salary and expense accounts that are simply stupendous. All this is done not only in the spirit of greed but in a spirit of violence and revenge. Grafters and adventurers have been scattered throughout Europe. They were of such sort that the robber barons of the

Middle Ages might have studied their methods with profit, and some day all this will be regarded as a disgrace. These enormous and useless commissions with impossible aims and programs of dissipation are nothing less than thefts.”*

“At the Conferences of London and San Remo, I repeatedly referred to the expenses of these military missions of control and often their outrageous imposition on the conquered who are suffering from hunger. There are generals who have credited themselves with expenses and indemnity charges of such sorts that they have built up for themselves salaries which are far superior to that of the President of the United States of America. At Vienna and Budapest, where the people are dying of hunger, the Commission for the Danube constitutes a veritable junket trip. It is only necessary to look at the expense account of the Reparation Commissions to be convinced that this sad spectacle of greed and luxury humiliates the victors more than the conquered.”† “And all this in the name of the rights of victory has been carried on by peoples who call themselves civilized and democratic!”‡

To Nitti’s words may be added the following facts, by way of illustration: Hungary had to pay to an ordinary stenographer attached to any of those foreign “missions” a higher salary than the Governor of Hungary was receiving. If this illustration is multiplied in an ascending scale with the number of members of the Commissions and their employees, including the soldiers of those Commissions, the reader may form a conception as to what impoverished Hungary had to pay to support those foreign military missions. And, furthermore, the reader may know that the reason why an appallingly large number of Hungarian men, women and children are now

*Nitti’s, “The Wreck of Europe,” p. 135.

†Ibid, pp. 134 and 135.

‡Ibid, p. 135.

our feeling in these grants is that the American Red Cross and the Christian churches of England and America have very generously responded to the aid of dying Hungary. It is the awful fact, that while the good Christian people and American men and women were giving their money, with a trembling heart, to save the Hungarian people from death by starvation, the military members of the Hungarian government were taking the bread from the starving mouths and the bread in Hungary. And all this while the very souls of the Hungarians were kept in their bodies through the generosity of the Christian men and women of England and America!

The plan of the international financial groups who are waging a financial war against Hungary is to reduce her to beggary. The allied governments behind these financial groups are also bent upon carrying out the same plan. Then, when Hungary will be in the condition in which these financiers want to use her, an offer will be made to give her an international loan.

An international loan would deliver Hungary into the hands of the international financiers; for with the loan given the right of supervision and virtual control of the government and of the country. The loan would become a virtually a perpetual loan, so that the interest and costs of supervision would be all that Hungary could pay, under the circumstances into which Hungary was thrown.

An international loan may be a means to help a country in its financial difficulties; but it might also be a means to subject the people of the debtor country to everlasting industrial slavery. Indeed, there is no easier way to enslave the people of a country than to place upon her an international loan, after that country has first been reduced to an economic bankruptcy. May God help the people of any country which the bankers and financiers have first reduced to beggary and then loaded with an international loan with exorbitant rates of interest.

est and with the right to "supervise" the economic interests of the country!

These are the methods by which, under and with the sanction of the League of Nations, Hungary has been and is being fleeced. These facts are set forth so that Christendom may ponder over the outrages and injustices perpetrated against Christian Hungary. We have no hesitation to say that Christian Hungary is the first in the line of Christian nations whose fate is in danger of becoming somewhat similar. For the forces behind the League of Nations and behind the Paris Peace Treaty are bent upon obtaining full control, body and soul, of the respective peoples. The cause of mutilated Hungary is the cause of Christendom.

It is clear, it is evident, that the Paris Peace Treaty cannot continue in existence. It is obvious that the *League of Nations is an international fraud* and, therefore, it cannot stand. In the words of Francesco Nitti: "No right thinking person has nowadays any doubt as to the profound injustice of the Treaty of Paris and all the treaties which are derived from it."*

*Nitti's "The Wreck of Europe," p. 264.

XXIV.

EUROPE IN THE GRIP OF INTERNATIONAL FINANCIERS

The World War, terrible as it was, did not decide definitely the issues therein involved. The Central Powers, it is true, were defeated in the military sense; but the military defeat of those Powers was not the basic purpose in the World War. The basic purpose in the World War was to obtain for the Triple Entente's international financiers the absolute control of the international commerce and finance of Europe and of Asia, if not also that of the United States of America. Despite the military defeat of the Central Powers,—despite the division of Europe and Asia among the victorious European countries and their vassals, such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Roumania and Jugoslavia,—despite the bartering of millions of human beings, as if they were dumb animals, the primary object of the World War has not been achieved. Europe is in chaos. The world has no peace; and certain groups of international financiers are preying upon helpless Europe. Europe now is a fruitful field for those international leeches.

We shall now proceed to give a brief summary of the activities of the international financiers in Europe after the Paris Peace Conference had delivered Europe to them.

In November, 1922, a few international financiers be-took themselves to London and there, in a luxuriously furnished office, sitting in comfortable chairs, undisturbed by the roars of cannon and by the heartrending moans of the dying, they attempted to settle the very question which four years of terrible war could not settle.

The question at that meeting in London was not, whether or not the world was made "safe for democracy." The only question there was, "How and under what arrangement the Berlin-Bagdad Railroad might be completed?" It may be remembered that the Berlin-Bagdad Railroad is a cold business proposition, and it has no connection with the idea of making the world "safe for democracy." The completion of the Berlin-Bagdad Railroad irrefutably means the control of the greatest part of the international commerce of the world.

The Cleveland Press, on December 2, 1921, two years after the end of the war, editorially made the following comment with reference to that meeting:

"HUMAN"

"When Germany went to war the main thing she wanted was to complete the Berlin-Bagdad Railroad. Seven years elapse. The curtain rises on Act 3: Hugo Stinnes, Walter Rathenau and other big Germans visit London. It leaks out that they are arranging to complete the railroad from Berlin to Bagdad.

"That is the usual way. After the war is over, both sides settle the original argument peacefully. No wonder the late B. L. T. referred to us as "the so-called human race."

The meeting in London was not successful. The Berlin-Bagdad Railroad was not completed. The world remained in chaos; dissatisfaction was clamoring everywhere. There was no peace, though the whole world cried for peace. To quiet the world the "Disarmament Conference" was called to Washington, where President Harding pleaded with the delegates to make a "peace by understanding."

Referring to the chaos and misery into which the world was thrown as the result of the world war, President Harding, in the course of his speech, said:

"How can humanity justify or God forgive? Human

hate demands no such toll; ambition and greed must be denied it. If misunderstanding must take the blame, then let us banish it, and let understanding rule and god-will regnant everywhere. All of us demand liberty and justice. There can not be one without the other, and they must be held the unquestioned possession of all peoples. Inherent rights are of God, and the tragedies of the world originate in their attempted denial. The world today is infringing their enjoyment by arming to defend or deny, when simple sanity calls for their recognition through common understanding."

What a sermon those words contain! Yet the victorious part of the world, the members of the League of Nations, refused to disarm and have a "peace by understanding." The world remained in chaos.

Under the pretext to remedy the ills of the world, another conference was called to Genoa, Italy. The conference ended in a fiasco, because its aim was not to find a permanent foundation for a durable peace but to apportion the vast Russian oil fields among the various financial interests who were the real power behind the conference. While the conference was held ostensibly by politicians and diplomats, the real and controlling power was in the hands of international financiers in whose interest and for whose sole advantage the conference was called and held.

It was a conference of politicians and international financiers. Among them was "M. Poincare, President of the French Republic, who is not only a very clever and very dangerous Bismarckian politician; but he is also a lawyer who for twenty years was the legal agent of the most powerful financial and industrial groups in France, including the Iron Combine, dominated by M. Schneider, of the Creusot armament works, the Coal Combine, the Chemical Combine and the Schneider Bank. These great financial interests control a large part of the Paris press which has very peculiar ways of

earning a living. It is these interests which brought M. Poincare to the presidency in 1913, and it is these interests which have been behind him ever since.”*

The financiers were represented at the conference by “the unofficial Committee of Bankers, among whom sat J. Pierpont Morgan of New York; Sir Robert Kindersley of the Bank of England, and M. Sergent of France.”† It was claimed that “the objective of the Bankers’ conference has been simply an arrangement for a loan to Germany.”

Despite any claim of a lofty aim and purpose for which the conference of Genoa was called, it is now clear that its purpose was not the establishment of peace, but the apportionment of the Russian oil fields among financial interests. Throughout the conference not one word was spoken, nor was there one earnest step taken toward basing Europe on the foundation of peace. The entire time of the conference was consumed by working out adroit schemes whereby the Russian oil fields might be divided among insatiable financial interests. Human interest was lacking; and an earnest desire for peace was absent; the predatory financial interests were struggling among themselves and with Russia; and consequently, the whole conference was reduced to a mad scramble for oil. The natural and logical result, therefore, was that the conference ended in a fiasco, or, as M. René Pinon, a French writer states: “The conference which began as a congress of diplomatists is ending in a melée between the great oil companies.”‡

The truth of the assertion of M. R. Pinon is strengthened by the description of the conference given by not less a personage than Lloyd George, Premier of England, who officially summoned the conference, and who ap-

*“Current Opinion” for July, 1922. “Plain Words to France,” quoting M. P. Noyes in “New York World.”

†*Ibid.*

‡Quoted in “American Review of Reviews,” July, 1922, p. 105.

peared "in his familiar role of the heroic fireman turning the hose on his own conflagration.* After the conference had ended, Lloyd George returned to England to rest his weary head. To administer unto the edification of his own soul he went to church to listen to a "Welsh sermon." An old man greeted him and, desirous to obtain first hand information, he asked Lloyd George how things were getting along in "Gehenna," of course, having in mind Genoa. Lloyd George quickly replied, that there was but a slight partition between Gehenna and Genoa; and the partition wall was so thin, that, at times, it seemed he could smell the very fumes rising from Gehenna. To this vivid description the premier added that, in his opinion, based upon his experiences at Genoa, "It is only the religion of Jesus Christ that can save the world from another catastrophe."†

The call of warning for another war has been sent out from London. Under date of May 13, 1922, Sir Hall Caine, a noted British author, has broadcasted the prognostication that there will be another war into which America "will be as surely swept by the torrents now as she was before." This "noted author" evidently was close to the official forecasters of wars; he was near the seat of International Finance and International Commerce. These buccaneers wanted to obtain control over certain Russian oil fields, but they did not succeed. Then they began to cry war. The platitude that "the money aim can lead only to war—a war without a soul, a war against the despairing Germany, with a famishing Russia behind it," was announced.

Sir Hall Caine further warned: "The war for four years shook the world to its foundation. Everything was sacrificed to it. Its material consequences knew no limits. Its spiritual penalties were universal. The agony of it entered every household, the irony of it into every

*"Current Opinion," July, 1922," p. 25.

†"Cleveland Plain Dealer," June 6, 1922.

soul. At length the awful thing came to a close and in the first triumphant hours of peace the world cried: "Never again. The reign of brute force is at an end. Let there be no more war."

"Victors and vanquished appeared to be of one mind about that, and if there had been a nation strong enough and pure enough and detached enough and with hands clean enough, to give humanity a lead toward lasting peace, perhaps the salvation of the world might have been assured.

"If the Conference of Genoa breaks down utterly, the consequences will be war. If the war cloud bursts, it will give short warning. The flood of it will overwhelm the world. America across her ocean, although she has stood apart, will be as surely swept by the torrents now as she was before. 'Stand by Francè and Belgium,' sounds like a brave slogan—but for mercy's sake let us know what it means. *It means that for the sake of money, of private property, of reparation for the past war, we will risk a war in the future—a war that can have no ideals behind it, no thrill of heart, no inspiration, no consolation, no sense of victory in defeat that shall be strong enough to conquer loss and death.*"

The threat that "if the Conference of Genoa breaks down utterly, the consequences will be war," if interpreted correctly, really meant that, unless the international financiers and predatory concession hunters succeeded in compelling Russia to turn her oil fields over to the international financiers, the peoples of the world would be pitted against one another again, and another bloody war would be fought. But, if the predatory interests expected that the people of the world would rise again, and at the sound of drums and under the inspiring strain of national airs, would march smilingly onto the battlefields to offer up their lives in order to obtain concessions in the oil fields of Russia for the benefit of the international financiers—if that was what they ex-

pected, then the international financiers met with a keen disappointment.

The newspapers in the United States of America frankly warned the people against "this propaganda" which came "from interests desirous of obtaining American aid in some affair of Europe."* At the same time "those Washington gentlemen" were warned that they "may make their little agreements; but if they ever come around with another conscription list, ordering men to pack up and sail, the result would surprise them uncomfortably."† The result of this wholesome warning was that the uncrowned rulers of Europe had no moral courage to order the people of the world into another mortal conflict. The war scare failed; and there was no world war.

But the insane desire for more wealth spurred the international financiers to further action. They did not want peace in Europe. They wanted a large piece of the oil territory of Russia. Since they could not have obtained at Genoa what they wanted, they ordered another conference to be held at the Hague.

Accordingly, the conference to the Hague was called and held. There the fiasco of Genoa was repeated. The international financiers were fighting for the oil territory of Russia. But they did not obtain what they desired. The conference ended, and Europe was left where she had been ever since the lamentable Peace Conference of Paris left its unhallowed footprints in the quicksand of international dishonesty.

After the fiasco at the Hague, another conference was called to London, England, where another attempt was made by the invisible rulers of the world to carry out their plan of world control. The "official" title of the conference was the "Conference on Reparation." But it made no attempt at reparation. The international

*"The Cleveland Sunday Leader-News," May 26th, 1922.

†"The Cleveland Sunday Leader-News," January 1, 1922.

financiers and their hirelings (politicians and diplomats) sought control of certain German mines and forests. It was evident, therefore, that the Conference sought to carry further the plan of complete destruction and subjugation of Europe. However, the Conference "broke up without reaching a conclusion, the main difficulty being over the control of German mines and forests."* Again, the international financiers had failed in the furtherance of their plan. They now wanted German mines and forests, but they got neither of them. Europe, however, remained in chaos.

To follow closely the tireless scheming of the world destructionists, namely the international financiers, it is significant to note that the "Reparation Conference" at London "broke up" on August 14, 1922. At the news of the failure of that Conference to extend its destructive hands to a more complete degeneration of Europe, civilized mankind might have breathed easier and lived in the chimerical hope that the arch fiends of the world had found the further destruction of the world and the enslavement of the people impossible.

But the motto of the international financiers and their hirelings is: "If you don't succeed, try again." Immediately after the London fiasco, the world woke up to the fact that James M. Cox, the presidential nominee of 1920 of the Democratic party, was traveling in Europe and was giving out interviews as to what should be done there. Colonel E. M. House was also, at that time, in Europe, and was lavish in his advice. So that on August 29, 1922, that is, fifteen days after the London fiasco, the United News sent broadcast and published in America the advice given by James M. Cox and Colonel E. M. House.

If the reader expects the advice of Colonel House to have been based upon any trace of democratic principles,

*"The Manchester Guardian Weekly," August 18, 1922.

he is mistaken. If he expects that advice to have been based upon any human principle, or that it is calculated to work out international justice, he will be much disappointed; for in his advice Colonel House ignores the right of the people of the world to say under what conditions they can live together peacefully. He advises with cynical boldness the "reconvening of the International Bankers' Conference to take up the whole reparations and European situations simultaneously."* In brief, Colonel House would have us believe that the people of the world have nothing further to say as to how the world's affairs should be conducted. His advice seems to indicate that if the international financiers have not skinned the people of all countries sufficiently, those vultures should be given another chance to complete the skinning of the world to the seventh skin.

That the reader may get the full significance of and the apparent reason for the advice of Colonel House, he should remember that the international financiers were present at every conference held since the Paris Peace Conference had left its unhallowed memory in the mind of mankind. At these conferences the international financiers had "already declared their willingness to say on what condition a loan would be feasible."†

The reader should also understand the full significance of this declaration. The international bankers did not "declare" that they would lend their money so that mankind may be benefited by it; but they "declare" that they are "willing" to tell the world "on what conditions" they will lend money. The "conditions" have not been stated openly as yet; but it is now common knowledge that ever since the armistice was signed, during the Paris Peace Conference and during all the conferences, the international financiers wanted the ores, coal, oil, land and table salt of Hungary, all the oil fields of

*"Cleveland Press," August 29, 1922.

†"The Manchester Guardian Weekly," August 18, 1922.

Russia and Poland and, finally, the "mines and forests" of Germany.

It is, therefore, logical to conclude that the international financiers are willing to make a loan to keep the people of Europe from starvation, provided Europe will turn over to them all the mines, forests, oil fields, tillable land, and subject themselves and their children's children to everlasting economic and political slavery.

In addition to the undemocratic advice of Colonel House, we have the advice of James M. Cox, the defeated Democratic candidate for the presidency of the United States of America. Of course, he endorses the advice of Colonel House and adds that Herbert Hoover should go over to Europe and umpire the game of the international financiers. Herbert Hoover, however, characteristically replies: "If you have killed the cow, you cannot milk it." Which, being interpreted, means that if you destroy the world and kill off the people, you have nobody left to rob.

It is evident that the international financiers now seek the aid of certain political leaders in the United States of America. Here we have another bid again to mislead the American people and obtain their aid in the complete annihilation of Europe and of the whole world. But will the American people go into another agony to "make the world safe for democracy," and to give the international financiers another chance to complete their plan of world slavery? The American people answered this question in 1920, and the indications are that that answer will stand.

But the international financiers continued their plotting. They evidently expected the American people to rush to Europe to help milk the cow which has already been butchered by the international financiers. As if encouraged by the interviews of James M. Cox and Colonel House and by other events, the international financiers sent out a statement from Germany, where the two afore-

mentioned Americans were then sojourning. The statement had the same date that the interviews of Cox and House had, namely August 29th, 1922. That statement throws full light upon the caliber and plan of the international financiers. That this statement came from Germany should not surprise the reader, because the international financiers have no country, in the patriotic meaning of the word. An international financier in Germany is just as bad as in France, England and in the United States of America. He is a leech wherever he is found.

The statement broadcasted by the "United Press" sets forth that "the four richest men in Germany—Stinnes, Voegeler, Kirdors and Thyssen—gathered today in an attempt to save their country from ruin." The millionaires met with Chancellor Wirth to discuss the grave economic crisis brought about by the unprecedented slump of the mark.

These millionaires had their plans as to how to "save" Germany "from ruin"; and the following was the plan:

*"They presented details of their plan to underwrite the fatherland's ability to pay reparations, in case a moratorium was granted by the allies." And to that end they were to draw up a "plan of treaties between the wealthy industrialists of Belgium and France."**

The full and unmistakable meaning of the foregoing statement is that "the four richest men in Germany" are able to pay all the German debt which seventy millions of Germans are unable to pay. It means further that the "wealthy industrialists of Germany, France and Belgium" are on quite friendly terms and are drawing up "treaties" among themselves. It means that the international financiers have now full control not only of Germany, but of the whole world. It means that a few men who control the wealth of the world can pay all the debts

*"The Cleveland Press," August 29, 1922.

of all the nations of the world; while all the people of the whole world are unable to pay their national debt. It means further that until Christian civilization will stay the hands of these tyrants, the people of the world shall suffer unprecedented hardships.

How pitifully helpless the world has become as against the international financiers is vividly stated by "The New Age," a weekly paper published in London, England. It is no longer the question what the French, German, English, American or other people want or desire. The peoples of any of these countries are just as helpless as the peoples of the other countries. The international financiers recognize no people; it makes no difference what the people want. So far as the international financiers are concerned, the important matter is to obtain all they want. On this point, "The New Age" says in its editorial:

"France cannot, without changing her financial system, avoid bankruptcy. At the same time she cannot change her financial system, because the international financial dictatorship will not let her. Here we have the key to the situation, not only of France, but of all the world that accepts a financial system imposed on it by the ring of private financiers."

"Actually, there is no bankruptcy, in the strict economic sense, in France or, for the matter of that, in Germany either. Actually, equally, neither England nor America is poor or unable to forego or pay debts. The actual wealth of all these countries is immeasurable. But owing to the idiocy which allows this actual wealth to be measured by money over which a few private individuals have complete control, any one of these countries, though actually wealthy, can be declared and made bankrupt at the discretion of Wall Street (New York), Threadneedle Street (London), and the Banks of France and Germany.

"But so long as this super-communist dictatorship of

the civilized world continues, anarchy is always next door to us; *not a single nation can do as its people pleases, and one country is no more responsible for any given situation than another.* We agree that *the French policy appears to be that of a lunatic;* so, too, do the policies of the other countries of Europe and America. But the initial cause lies not in the details, but in the plan; and that plan, we repeat, is imposed by the existing financial system which itself is the work of arch-lunatics."*

In spite of the fact that the international financiers have obtained the upper hand in the control of the world, it is apparent that humanity was reluctant to sink and to submit to the yoke prepared by the arch enemies of civilization. But even this reluctance has comparatively little effect upon the plan of the international financiers. They have declared a new type of war to revenge themselves upon the people of Europe, if not upon the whole world. This new type of war is intended and waged to reduce a part of Europe to beggary and starvation; and, then; to force the people into submission.

This new method of warfare is purely financial. It is more terrible than a war of steel, poison gas and liquid fire; for in a war of steel, gas and fire, the worst that can happen to a warrior is to be killed, his body returned to dust and his soul to his Maker; but in a financial war the physical bodies of men, women and innocent children are subjected to all the tortures of hell, and their souls killed in the mad scramble for the necessities of life.

The purpose of this financial war is to destroy the exchange value of the currency of the defeated countries, and thereby render those countries economically helpless. When those countries shall have been hurled into an

*Quoted in the "Dearborn Independent," August 26, 1922. In commenting upon the above editorial, the "Dearborn Independent" charges that: "Here in the United States, Bolshevism has been traced directly to the door of certain bankers, who are financing for racial or business reason the downfall of huge sections of humanity." What are the American people going to do about it?

economic bankruptcy, then an international loan will be forced upon them. And when a huge international loan shall have been fastened upon their shoulders, those debtor peoples immediately will become and remain forever abject slaves of International Commerce and International Finance.

International loan is a more effective means of subjugating a nation than explosive bombs, poison gas and liquid fire. Under the present condition, in order to destroy a nation, it is not absolutely necessary to train your cannon against, and manipulate them to belch forth liquid fire upon, that nation. You can kill a nation by forcing upon it an international loan. These loans, of course, are made by international bankers, behind whom stand the armies and navies of the nations which they happen to control. Besides, with the loan goes the right to control politically and economically the country to which the loan is made. And may God, in His infinite mercy, have pity upon the nation which is owned, body and soul, by international financiers!

The terrible financial war waged by the international financiers has wrecked the finance of Germany, Austria and Hungary and, as a consequence, has hurled Europe, if not also the whole world, into economic chaos. The international commercial relation of the world is in a chaotic condition. One-third of the world being in financial bankruptcy, the other two-thirds is unable to do business with the bankrupt one-third. To use Herbert Hoover's simile, the cow that has been killed cannot be milked.

In addition to the financial war conducted in Europe by the international financiers, Greece was induced to make war on Turkey. The pretext for that war was that the "Turks mistreated the Christians at Smyrna." The fact, however, as every one knows, was that the object of the war against Turkey was to force her into submission. Subsequent developments have shown that

the international financiers were aiming at obtaining oil concessions in the rich oil fields of Turkey. The war has resulted in a disaster to Greece. The concession-hunter financiers did not succeed in forcing Turkey to give them concessions.

After the Graeco-Turkish war fiasco, the "Near East Conference" was called. The subject of the Conference was not the alleged mistreatment of the "Christians at Smyrna" by the Turks; it was Oil. The British, the French and the American oil interests were on the spot and fighting not to "make the world safe for democracy," but for oil concessions in Turkey.

The "Near East Conference" held at Lausanne had developed into a three cornered fight among the British, the French and the American oil interests for oil. The "Anglo-Persian" oil interests "with their Jewish bankers in the Dutch Shell," an English corporation; the Royal Dutch Petroleum Company, a Holland corporation; the Shell Transport and Standard Oil Company and other American oil interests were in line to obtain oil concessions. Their interests were centered in oil and not in the "Christians of Smyrna."

"Back of the Royal Dutch are said to be the great Jewish bankers of Germany and of France,—back of the Shell are Jewish interests of England, the Rothschilds and, openly, the house of Sir Marcus Samuel, now Lord Bearstead. . . . It is the great Jewish banking power which dominates the Dutch Shell with which the Standard and the Anglo-Persian companies are the principal competitors."* At the head of the Dutch Shell is Sir Henry, a Hollander by birth, a Jew by race, a British subject by adoption, and a knight Commander of the Order of the British Empire by creation of King George."

"The greatest financial interests in the world—the

*See Wallace Thompson's article, "World Oil—War or Entente?" in "Asia," May, 1923, pp. 236-238.

Jewish bankers of Europe," as Mr. Thompson calls them, were working hard to squeeze out the American oil interests from Turkey. But the Americans had succeeded in obtaining concessions from Turkey. The result was that, for a time being, England, France and the United



This is the way the French army of occupation makes the world "safe for democracy" in the Ruhr Valley. Friedrich Lallman, book-keeper for a workers' organization, innocent of any wrong doing, was flogged with horse whips, made of wire, by French soldiers in the High School cellar at Bochum. The doctor ascertained 72 welts, each averaging 74 centimeters. (Reprinted by permission from "The American Monthly," Feb., 1924.)

States of America, were heading toward war, not—we beg to repeat—"to make the world safe for democracy," not to help "the Christians of Smyrna," but to obtain OIL concessions from Turkey!

In addition to that mad scramble for oil, the invasion of the Ruhr Valley by the French took place. The Ruhr Valley contains the coal and iron supply of Central Europe. The admitted purpose of the invasion was to obtain control of that coal and iron supply of Central Europe. It is to be noted that those groups of international financiers who shall control the coal and iron supply of Central Europe shall also control economically and politically all of Central Europe. There is no national issue, there is no question of human rights, there is no question of the world's safety or unsafety "for democracy" in the invasion of the Ruhr Valley. The sole question is: "Who shall control the iron and coal supply of Central Europe?"

As the result of the mad scramble of the various groups of international financiers for more wealth, power and world control, there is a wild chaos in Europe. Europe is on the verge of another war. If that war should ever break out, Christian civilization in Europe would be in grave danger of annihilation. It is so predicted by Lloyd George who knows whereof he speaks. Christian civilization, therefore, is being put to a crucial test. The trend of world events are fully supporting the warning of Lloyd George, that: "*The religion of Jesus Christ is the only thing that will save the world from another catastrophe.*"

By this warning Lloyd George undoubtedly means that if another catastrophe is to be avoided, the war profiteers of Europe must recognize the God-given right of all the peoples of Europe to life, liberty and to the pursuit of happiness. The war profiteers must learn the difference between "*meum et tuum*" (mine and thine), to take and keep only that to which they are rightly and justly entitled and, at the same time, let the people have and hold all that which is rightly and justly theirs.

This, we believe, is, at least in part, the religion of Jesus Christ. It is of very compelling importance that the international financiers be converted to, and then compelled to keep and devoutly practice, this religion. Thus alone shall the world be saved from another catastrophe.

XXV.

MUTILATED HUNGARY OF TODAY

Hungary today is governed under her old constitution. Her form of government is similar to the English form. She has equal and uniform suffrage. She has her Parliament sitting in Budapest, the members of which are elected directly by the people. Above the Parliament there is a Ministry which is directly responsible to the Parliament. The responsible government of Hungary, therefore, is the Ministry. Thus, the Parliament is directly responsible to the people; the Ministry is directly responsible to the Parliament; hence, the government is responsible to the people. The Ministry holds the reins of government only so long as it is satisfactory to the majority of the Parliament. A majority vote of lack of confidence in the Ministry deposes it, and a new Ministry is formed which is satisfactory to the majority of the Parliament. If the Parliament cannot agree upon a new Ministry, the Parliament is dissolved, and the people, in a general election, elect a new Parliament; thus indicating what kind of Ministry they want. Thus, the people have a direct hold on the government. In short, Hungary has a highly developed democratic form of government.

The titular head of the State of Hungary is the Governor in the person of Admiral Nicholas Horthy. Governor Horthy is an admirable Christian gentleman. When Hungary was being tortured by the Bolsheviks, and was being ransacked by the Roumanian invaders, Admiral Horthy, risking his life, gathered around himself a small army of Hungarian Christians and, mounted on a white horse, led his small army into Budapest and

saved the already mutilated and ransacked Hungary from further disintegration. His grateful countrymen, through their Parliament, elected him Governor of Hungary. The Christians of Hungary, regardless of their religious creeds, are unanimous in their praise and love for Governor Horthy. It is only the international Jews that hate him. According to the reports of American and English writers, Governor Horthy is first, last, and always, a Christian Hungarian.

The functions of the Governor of Hungary are somewhat similar to the functions exercised by the titular head of England. He safeguards the constitution and enforces the laws of the country; and, in general, he represents the State. His tenure of office and also the power to be exercised and the duties performed by him are subject to the will of the Parliament. Hence, he is responsible to the people of Hungary.

All the laws are enforced in the name of the "King of Hungary." The diplomatic representatives of the country are styled as "The Royal Hungarian Legation," and the "Royal Hungarian Consulate." Some of the well known enemies of Hungary are attempting to make much ado about these forms; but it should be remembered that those forms are the outgrowth of the constitutional history of Hungary. The old constitution of Hungary was made when Hungary was a kingdom; under it Hungary was a constitutional kingdom. According to the terms of that old constitution, the Hungarian kings were elective, and when elected they swore allegiance to the people. It should be further remembered that until after the World War the Kingdom of Hungary existed under the old constitution, and the legal forms thereunder remained to this day. The American reader, no doubt, is familiar with the various legal forms we have in our legal procedure in this country. We have our peculiar forms of pleadings, in some States our legal form of dress, and our ancient form of opening court. Yet,

these forms do not take away the fact that we are living under, and governed by, a constitutional form of government.

To eliminate the old legal forms, it would be necessary, as a matter of constitutional law, for the Hungarian Parliament to revise the old constitution, repass and reprint all the existing laws and to print new legal forms. The expense connected with this procedure would be so enormous that, in her present financial plight, Hungary would not be able to defray it, without curtailing the more immediately necessary expenses. The economic reconstruction of Hungary is much more important than the changing of empty legal forms. Hence, the legal forms remain.

The country is divided into counties. The counties have their own Assemblies, the members of which are elected by the people. The titular head of each county is the County Governor, (Föispán) who is appointed by and is responsible to the Government at Budapest.

The counties are divided into districts, and the districts into towns and villages. The officials of these divisions are also elected by the people.

It is these counties, districts, towns and villages that constitute the State of Hungary.

Religion in Hungary is as free as the air. Everybody may worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. There is no religious disqualification or disability in Hungary.

The educational system in Hungary is on a high plane. That poor country is straining every ounce of her energy and spending all the money she can to keep up a high standard of education. In justice to the Hungarian young men and women students in the Hungarian colleges and universities it is proper to state that, even on their part, a quest for education, by reason of the devaluation of the Hungarian currency, is attended with so many and so great sacrifices that it is a wonder that

they study at all. And in full justice to the teaching profession in Hungary, we can state properly and without exaggeration that the members of that profession are the self-sacrificing heroes of our times. The hardships which those heroic men and women of Hungary are undergoing, in order that the youth of Hungary may advance in learning, are unprecedented in the history of Christian civilization. Yet,—God bless them!—they study, they teach, and they continue rendering their services to Christian civilization.

As a matter of self-protection, the "*numerus clausus*" law was invoked and put into practice in Hungary. That law limits to *six per cent* the number of Jewish students in the universities. Hungary is being attacked by certain Jews on the ground that the "*numerus clausus*" is a "religious disqualification"; but the facts seem to show that it is rather a racial question. This precautionary measure, however, is not confined to Hungary alone. "The demand for a *clausus* has spread now to practically every campus in Central and Eastern Europe; it has been taken up by the legislatures of Austria, Poland, Hungary, the Baltic States and Roumania."* It appears that Europe is almost unanimous in the belief that there is a common danger existing in Europe; and that danger is the evident Jewish control in every European country. The various peoples of Europe, it is true, disagree on many political questions; but they are almost unanimous in insisting that "The Jew must go."* "If the Jew can be kept out of college, he can *ipso facto* be kept out of the professional classes, and he can be excluded from the administration of the government."* In Vienna the cry is: "Down with Jewish politics."* "The progressive Levantizing (Judaizing) of Vienna must at least be stopped at the doors of the universities," says Dr. Diener,

*See a very interesting and instructive article, "Antisemitism in Europe," by Marwin Lowenthal, in the "Nation" (New York), November 14, 1923.

president of the university. "The university surely cannot be expected to welcome as guests . . . an element foreign to us in race and habits whose culture, education and morals stand on a much lower plane than that of the German student body, constituting a cancer in our academic life."* In Roumania the Christian students in the medical school refuse to permit Jewish students to dissect Christian corpses. "The Roumanian students demanded that the Jews be excluded from the college unless the Jewish community furnished corpses for dissection."† There is a very strong evidence that all of Southeastern Europe is recognizing one great common danger,—too much and an intolerable Jewish politics and commercial imposition.

*"Commune periculum
"Una salus ambobus erit."*

In a common danger, there is only one interest; and that is to eliminate the common danger.

The "Jewish Question" in Europe is not a "religious question," as some would have the world believe; it is purely a racial question. In none of the European countries do we find any evidence to the effect that an objection has been raised as to the mode of worship by the Jews. The objections are directed against the mode of "dealing" by the Jews with their fellowmen. Whether we like it or not, the sordid fact is that a certain Jewish element has gone so far in its baneful activities, that Christendom in Europe finds itself in a defensive position. Where the struggle on the part of the aggressive Jewish element for world control, and the struggle on the part of Christendom to repel this Jewish invasion will lead to, no one knows. This much we know, as Mr. Lowenthal so aptly states, that the cry in Europe is, "Down with Jewish politics," and that "The Jew must

*Ibid.

†Ibid.

go." This much, however, may safely be predicted, that unless the Jewish and Judaized international financiers of Europe—and even of Wall Street—will recede from their present arrogant position, some very dark and grawsome days are awaiting the Jews in Europe. Christian civilization shall refuse to perish. This means that Jewish arrogance and Jewish struggle for world control must cease.

The necessity for the *numerus clausus* in Hungary appears rather compelling, if we examine the Jewish power in, and control of, Hungary. Miss Anna O'Hare McCormick, writing in the New York Times Magazine for October 21, 1923, speaks of "the powerful Jewish caste in Hungary." She states that the Hungarian "finds himself at the mercy" of the Jews. "No peasant in Hungary," she continues, "can sell a measure of corn or peck of potatoes except through a Jewish middleman... *Jews own all the banks, the newspapers, the big business.* They have gained enormously in wealth and power since the war." Princess Cantacuzéne, a grand niece of ex-President Grant, wrote in the February 24th, 1923, issue of the Saturday Evening Post as follows: "All foreigners add that the Jews are in complete control of the economic world in the central states of Europe, commerce, banking, and all business being in Semitic hands, while a large percentage of the land is practically also theirs through the mortgage they hold. They (the Hungarians) are . . largely in the hands of their money lenders." More than ninety per cent of the "money lenders" in Hungary are Jews!

The following statistics will throw full light upon the Jewish power in Hungary. While examining the statistics the reader should keep in mind the fact that Hungary, just like the United States of America, had, in the past, very liberal immigration laws, the result of

which is that *five per cent* of the population of Hungary are Jews.* Yet the following is the situation:

Factory owners†	31.6%	are Jews
Factory officials	52.6%	are Jews
Storekeepers	66.2%	are Jews
Private bankers and money lenders	90.3%	are Jews
Business officials	70.9%	are Jews
Credit officials	55.9%	are Jews
Lawyers	50.0%	are Jews
During the last twenty years the Jewish lawyers increased	216.9%	
Doctors	48.9%	are Jews
Owners of printing establishments	76.3%	are Jews
Newspaper writers	42.4%	are Jews
Lessees of estates (above 1000 acres)	73.2%	are Jews
Lessees of estates (between 200 and 1000 acres)	62.0%	are Jews
Laborers	3.3%	are Jews
Domestic servants	1.6%	are Jews
Miners	0.5%	are Jews
Farmers	0.6%	are Jews
In military service in the world war	only	2.5% were Jews
	—	

BUT IN:

Bolshevik leadership	95.0%	were Jews
War contract frauds	73.0%	were Jews
Fraudulent and criminal bankruptcy	64.7%	were Jews
Usury	36.7%	were Jews

*According to Jewish calculations, the entire Jewish population of the world is 15,744,662. Of this number there are 11,453,968 Jews in Europe; 433,332 in Asia; 359,722 in Africa; 19,415 in Australia; 3,496,225 in the United States of America. Whereas the Jewish population of America is about **three per cent**, the Jews in Hungary comprise **five per cent** of the entire population.

†The above statistics are taken from "A Zsidóság Tér-foglalása Magyarországon" (The Encroachment of the Jews in Hungary), written by Alajos Kovács, Ministerial Councilor in the Office of Statistics, and member of the Hungarian Academy of Science. Printed in Budapest, 1922.

Fraud -----	14.4% were Jews
Embezzlement -----	11.0% were Jews
Extortion -----	11.1% were Jews
Forgery -----	7.6% were Jews

The industries of Hungary are at a standstill because the land containing the raw materials was taken from her. The value of the Hungarian currency was reduced almost to zero. Whereas before the world war five Hungarian crowns had the purchasing value of one American dollar, today it would take about one hundred thousand Hungarian crowns (100,000) to purchase one American dollar's worth of goods. This situation has killed the manufacturing industries in Hungary.

In the farming industry the situation is somewhat better. The good God still sends His rain and gives His sunshine to the Hungarian farmers; but the Paris Peace Conference has rendered it impossible for them to purchase the necessary farming implements and fertilizer. The Hungarian farmers and God are working together; but the inhumanity of the Paris Peace Conference retards them in their work.

The atrocity of the Paris Peace Conference is being followed by another atrocity. Having forced Hungary into an economic incompetency, certain international financiers are maneuvering to force an international loan upon her mutilated shoulders. The amount of the proposed loan is two hundred fifty million Hungarian gold crowns (\$50,000,000.00 in U. S. value).

The conditions attached to the proposed loan are harsh and hardly compatible with national independence and international dignity. A Commissioner will be appointed by the League of Nations who will be "the financial dictator of Hungary." The League of Nations will determine the amount of the salary of the Commissioner and that of his staff and "experts"; and Hungary will have to pay these salaries. On paper, the Com-

missioner will be responsible to the League of Nations only; but, in grim reality, he will have to dance to the tune played by those international financiers who are controlling the League of Nations.

There is a sinister purpose in this proposed loan. It is not intended to help Hungary. On the contrary, the loan is intended to be a means whereby the body and soul of Hungary shall be crushed. The price to be exacted from Hungary in return for this proposed loan is more than a mere repayment thereof. That price is the birthright, the political, spiritual, industrial, commercial and political independence of Hungary. For this reason, the loan is vigorously opposed in Hungary by the Christians of the country.

To quiet the opposition to the loan, those who are interested in saddling it upon the mutilated shoulders of Hungary resorted to a rather daring maneuver. It was announced that about twenty to thirty million dollars of the loan will be raised in the United States, and that an American citizen, Mr. W. P. G. Harding, will be appointed "the financial dictator of Hungary." Immediately after that announcement the value of the Hungarian currency fell from thirty thousand to 100,000 Hungarian crowns to one American dollar. This maneuver suddenly increased the list of those Hungarian men, women and children who died of starvation. Nero who fiddled gleefully while Romans were being burnt to death in their flaming homes was an angel in comparison to those who are interested in forcing Hungary to accept their loan!

The reader might know that these modern Neros will not advance their own money as a loan to Hungary. Instead, they will act as brokers, and charge themselves a nice little fat commission for their "services" rendered in selling the bonds of indebtedness. Thus the buyers will have the paper, Hungary the burden, and the brokers the commission.

The proposed loan will be payable in twenty years. After two and one-half years from the date of the loan, Hungary shall pay each year, over and above the re-payment of the loan, the sum of ten million Hungarian gold crowns (about \$2,000,000.00 in U. S. value) toward the payment of reparation, same to total the sum of 179,000,000 Hungarian gold crowns (about \$36,000,000.00 in U. S. value). In the meantime Hungary must ship to Czechoslovakia eight hundred and eighty tons of coal daily, although more than fifty per cent of the coal deposit of Hungary was taken from her by the Paris Peace Conference. The income from tariff, sugar tax, tobacco tax, and table salt tax—although not one ounce of table salt deposit was left for Hungary—will be held as security for the loan and for the salary and expenses of the Commissioner and of his staff and “experts.” The taxes will be increased, and the Hungarians must pay them in the amount the “financial dictator” will determine. Hungary will not be permitted to make commercial or political treaty with any nation, except with those agreeable to the “financial dictator.” Hungary shall not be permitted to complain and ask for justice and fair play at the hands of Christian civilization; on the other hand, she shall grant a general amnesty to all those political scums who found it healthy to flee from the country after the Jewish dictatorship had failed and collapsed in Hungary.

In connection with this proposed loan a double-fanged propaganda is being widely spread in this country. It is distinctly Jewish and it is conducted by Jews. One of these fangs is apparently directed against the loan, attempting to create the impression that Hungary is very hard pressed for the loan. The purpose of this phase of the propaganda is to force Hungary to make concessions to the self-“exiled” Jews who left the country after the dictatorship had collapsed. These propagandists insist that, among other things, more land must

be given to the Hungarian peasants; but, they say, the Hungarian government refuses to put through such an agrarian reform.

The other anti-Hungarian propagandists, representing the other fang, insist that the Hungarian peasants must *not* have more land, because they would not raise enough crops to feed the country and have some left for export. These propagandists loosely explain that the most important thing needed by Hungary is an international loan. With this loan, these propagandists say, Hungary can exist and can give her people a living condition; but they are silent as to how long that promised existence will continue and what kind of "living condition" the proposed loan will enable Hungary to give her people. Thus, Hungary is being placed between the Devil and the deep blue sea; and, according to the aforementioned propagandists, if she does not want to be burnt or to be drowned, she must have an international loan!

Judging from the vehicle employed for the spreading of this double-fanged anti-Hungarian propaganda, a considerable amount of money is being expended in its propagation. Just why some of these Jewish propagandists have sailed the seas and others expending their money in the propagation of this anti-Hungarian propaganda, is somewhat explained by the statement of Francesco Nitti, ex-Prime Minister of Italy, that: "The international financiers hate Hungary because of the acts of violence committed against the Jews." And, as Marlow's Jew of Malta says:

"When we grin, we bite."

The proposed loan, with the hard and unconscionable conditions thereto attached, is the bitterest pill that has been offered to Hungary since her territory was mutilated by the Paris Peace Conference. In spite of the fact that the brokers, following the example of boot-leggers, are attempting to falsify the label and cover the

pill with an American coat of sugar, it will be hard for Hungary to swallow that pill.

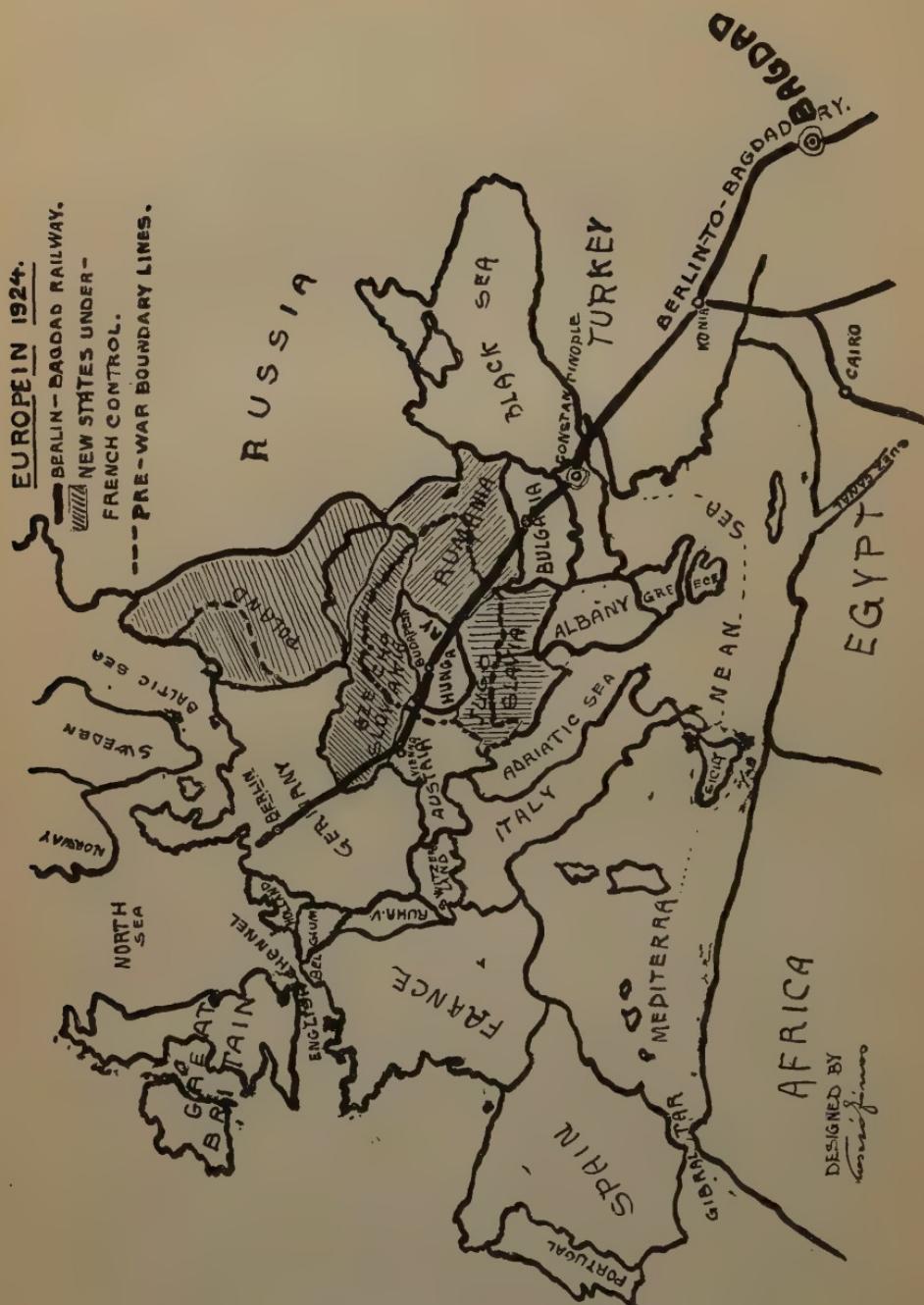
A group of fearless and courageous Christian Hungarian statesmen are bravely struggling to defeat this proposed loan and thus save their country from further control by the aforementioned international financiers. Fighting against great odds, opposed by powerful international financiers, slandered and decried by ubiquitous Jews, those Christian statesmen are putting up an admirable struggle to save the Christian character of their country. Their struggle is the struggle of Christian civilization. It is so great, it is so Christian, it is so purely patriotic, it is so grandiosely noble, that it excites the admiration of the human heart. Their defeat would be a calamity for Christendom. Their success will be a great and historical triumph for Christian civilization.

This group of courageous Christian Hungarian statesmen are being slandered and maligned by certain international Jewish interests for the reason that they oppose the proposed loan and insist that, instead of a foreign loan, Hungary should tax the rich men of Hungary who have the money but invest it in foreign countries. Inasmuch as most of the rich men in Hungary are Jews, these Christian statesmen are usually referred to as "anti-Semitic." These statesmen insist that the resources and wealth of the country should be taxed and used in the economic upbuilding of the country; but, since Hungary is owned mostly by Jews, a large share of the sacrifice connected with the economic rebuilding of the country would fall upon the Jewish owners of Hungary; therefore, any attempt to tax them is being dubbed as "anti-Semitism." These Jews want to make money in Hungary, but they refuse to do their share in the economic rebuilding of the country. They make their money in Hungary, but invest it in foreign countries. And the international financiers, together with their

League of Nations, are gladly helping those shylocks of Hungary!

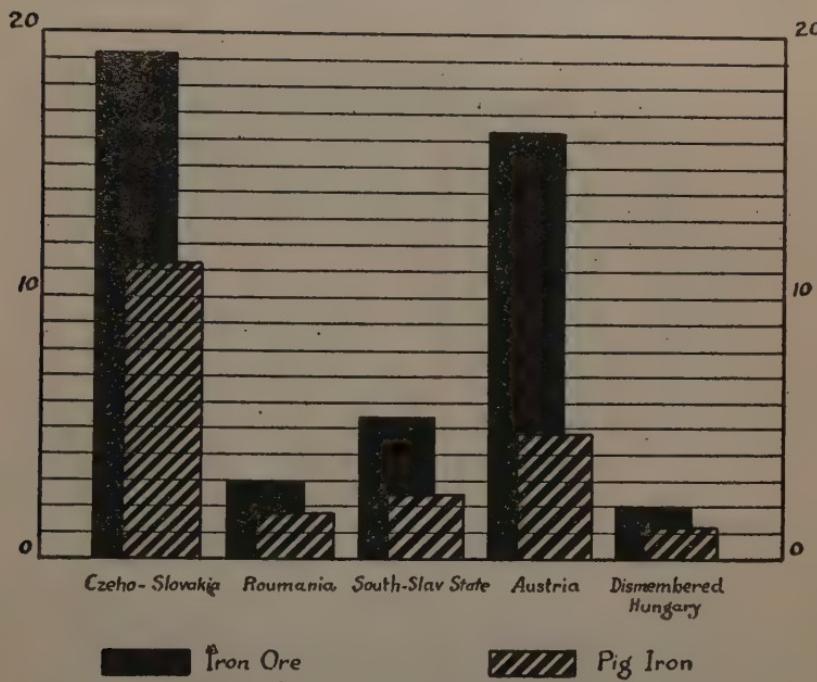
Against this disgraceful situation Hungary cannot protest. Any attempt on her part to remedy this situation is being obstructed by a world wide cry of "anti-semitism." It is impossible for a Hungarian statesman to take a real Hungarian breath, without incurring the charge of being "anti-semitic." If the Hungarian government should proceed to use the acquired wealth and natural economic resources of Hungary in the economic rebuilding of the country, the cry of "anti-semitism" would at once go up. Within twenty-four hours the whole world would know that "Hungary is anti-semitic." Besides, the cannon of Czechoslovakia on the North, the cannon of Roumania on the East, the cannon of Jugoslavia on the South, the cannon of France on the West, are trained against Hungary. France now controls Czechoslovakia, Roumania and Jugoslavia, and she herself is controlled by a certain group of international financiers. An order from France is sufficient for the countries surrounding Hungary to pull the trigger and shoot Hungary into atoms. In this situation, Christian Hungary is compelled to submit to all the outrages committed against her, until Christian civilization shall raise its protesting finger and shall demand that this outrage must stop. Hungary does not deserve this awful humiliation, nor the cruel punishment being meted out to her.

In her international relation Hungary is peaceful; but she is surrounded by Czechoslovakia, Roumania and Jugoslavia, the governments of which are controlled by France and by her international financial groups. Hungary does not know when her neighbors might invade her territory and disintegrate it. Her neighbors have formed the so-called "Little Entente" which is controlled and financed by France. The "Little Entente" is ready to strike at her upon order from France. In brief, Hungary's situation is similar to that of a peaceful man who



desires to live in peace with his neighbors, yet he does not know at what hour and in what moment his home might be set afire, or broken into, or dynamited and reduced to ashes. This is an awful situation; yet unfortunately it exists.

Hungary's greatest need today is the return to her the territory which was unjustly taken from her. The



*Production of Iron, in million quintals of the new
Danubian States*

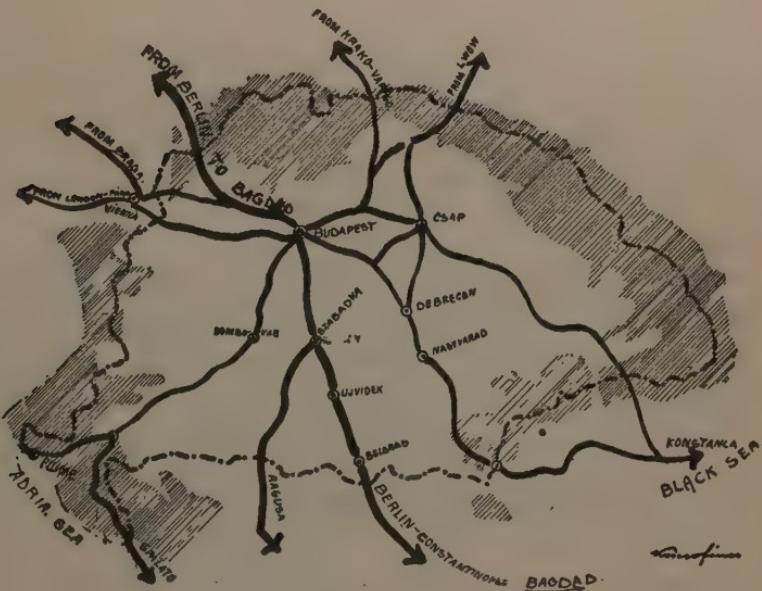
return of her territory would put her on her economic feet, provided she were let alone. She should receive back her coal, iron, timber, silver, gold, oil, gas, and other natural resources, and also her agricultural land. If thus made an economic whole, Hungary shall get on her feet within one year, and she would again become a self-supporting country.

But the international financiers do not want to see Hungary rehabilitated territorially and economically. The detractors and slanderers of Hungary, in their false and fraudulent propaganda against her, claim that the economic and territorial rehabilitation of Hungary would result in war. But history tells us that during her one thousand years of national existence and while she exercised her national independence, Hungary never fought a single war of conquest. All her struggles were of self-defense. An intimate knowledge of Hungarian history and of Hungarian national character is an assurance that Hungary will continue her peaceful existence. Hungary has had a clean and honorable past, and we are warranted in stating that her future will be peaceful, upright and righteous.

The real underlying reason for the opposition, on the part of the *Invisible Power* of Europe, to the economic and territorial rehabilitation of Hungary is the fact that Hungary is the key to the solution of world peace. The Invisible Power of Europe dreads world peace; it wants world chaos. Hungary is the center of the railroad and water transportation systems in Southeastern Europe. By reason of her central location, Hungary is to Central Europe what the State of Ohio is to the East and Middle West of the United States of America; and Budapest, the Capital of Hungary, is the Cincinnati of Europe. Therefore, the mutilation of Hungary means to Europe exactly that which the cutting into pieces and distributing the State of Ohio among four rival countries would mean to the United States of America. The result in Europe is economic chaos.

The economic and territorial rehabilitation of Hungary would result in the reopening of international commerce in Southeastern Europe. If this would happen, Czechoslovakia, Roumania and Jugoslavia would become friendly to Hungary; and the peoples of Southeastern Europe would be living in peace. This would mean that

France and the international financial groups controlling France would lose control of Czechoslovakia, Roumania and Jugoslavia. It would mean that international commerce with the Far East would be opened up. It would mean that the two millions of English working men would be able to return to work. World peace would be

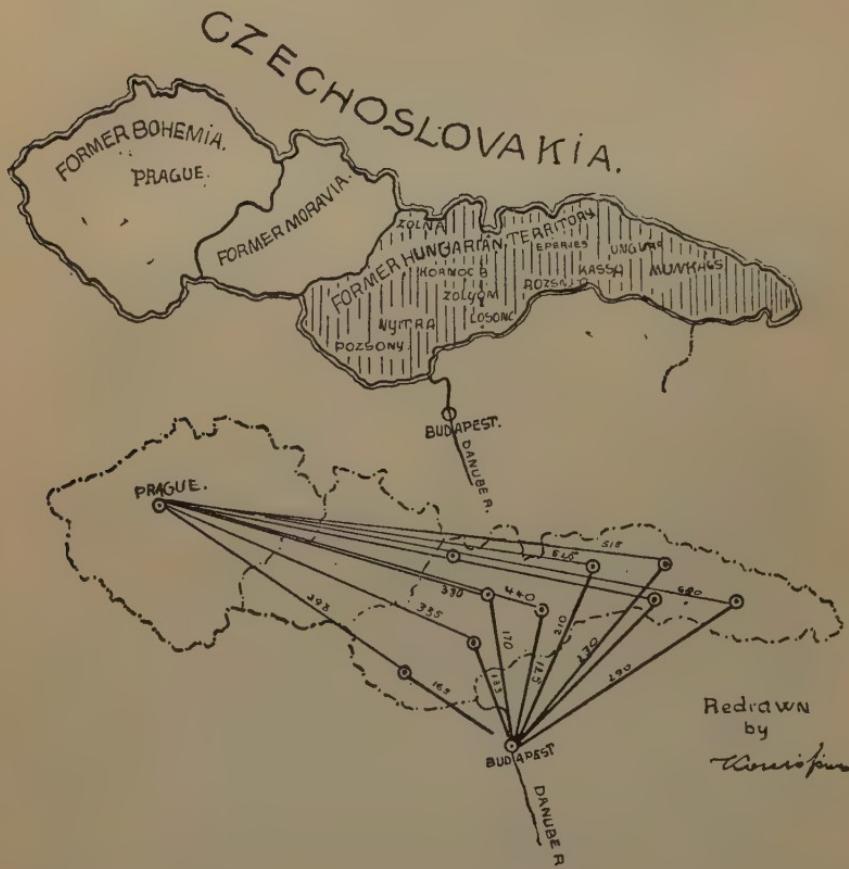


Hungary is the natural center of the railroad system of Middle Europe. Budapest is the Cincinnati of Southeastern Europe. The railroads from Berlin to Bagdad, the line that may be called London to Bagdad, the lines running from the South, West and North of Europe to the Black Sea, to Bagdad, and toward India,—all these run through Budapest, the Capital of Hungary. The mutilation of the territory of Hungary, and the chaotic condition created in Southeastern Europe, wrecked the railroad transportation system of Central Europe. As long as this condition prevails, peace in Europe is inconceivable.

re-established; and world chaos would disappear. This the international financiers do not want. They do not want to see the economic and territorial rehabilitation of Hungary. They want the continuation of international chaos. That is the only real underlying reason for their

opposition to the economic and territorial rehabilitation of Hungary.

In closing this chapter, we beg the kind indulgence of the reader for leave to repeat the words of Francesco Nitti, ex-Prime Minister of Italy:



These two drawings show how nearer to Budapest are the towns and railroad centers in the territory given to Czechoslovakia than they are to Prague, the Capital of Czechoslovakia. (Redesigned from the Map Section of the "Pesti Hirlap.")

"Hungary has undergone the greatest occupation of her territories and wealth. This poor great country, which saved both civilization and Christianity, has been

treated with a bitterness that nothing can explain except the greed of those surrounding her. Nothing, in fact, can justify the measures of violence and depredations committed in Magyar territory. After the war every one wanted some sacrifice from Hungary, and no one dared to say a word of peace or good will for her. The adherents of Socialism do not love her because she had to resist, under more than difficult conditions, internal and external Bolshevism. *The international financiers hate her because of the acts of violence committed against the Jews. So Hungary suffers all the injustices without defense, all the miseries without help, and all the intrigues without resistance.*



This child is not dead; it is merely starved. A horrible example of what the Treaty of Versailles and the destruction of the economic unity of Europe mean to innocent childhood in Europe.—Reprinted by permission from "The American Monthly," February, 1924.

"The mortality among the children and the mortality from tuberculosis have become alarming. Practically all the new-born in recent years, partly through the privations of the mothers and partly from the lack of milk, are tubercular. The conditions of life are so serious that there is no comparison. Such is the situation of Hungary, which has lost everything, and which suffers the most atrocious privations and the most cruel pangs of hunger."*

*Nitti's "The Wreck of Europe," pp. 164-167. It is said that in Budapest alone there are three hundred thousand persons suffering from tuberculosis.

This is what the "hate" of the international financiers means. Yet the condition described will continue until Christian civilization will tell the international brigands that what they have done to Hungary is ENOUGH. Hungary will remain the helpless victim of international financiers, until

"Truth crushed to earth,
"Shall rise again,"

and the economic unity and territorial integrity of Hungary shall be restored.

XXVI.

HOW CAN PEACE BE RESTORED TO EUROPE?

Civilized mankind is crying for peace; but there is no peace. Chaos rules in Europe and there is uncertainty everywhere. Some of the victorious countries of Europe, especially France, are preparing for war. The new weapons of war are being developed to such a high degree of efficacy that in a few hours the largest cities of any country can be wiped off the face of the earth. Christian civilization is in grave danger of being annihilated.*

But there cannot and there will not be peace unless the causes of the present chaotic condition and the reasons for the belligerent spirit now rampant in Europe are eliminated. If there is to be peace in Europe—and peace there must be established—there must be built a just and permanent foundation for that peace. That foundation must be EQUAL JUSTICE accorded to every nation in Europe.

The immediate cause of the present chaotic condition in Europe is the insane parcelling of the territory, and the asinine bartering of the peoples of Europe by the Paris Peace Conference. Whereas, before the world war Europe was an economic unit, today that continent is an aggregate of disorganized and economically incompetent "states." The French and Belgian groups of international financiers are now controlling most of the raw material products of Central Europe. The "newly created states," Poland, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and

*See Nitti's "The Decadence of Europe," p. 196.

Roumania are economically and politically under the control of the English-French and Belgian international financiers, who are backed and supported by the armies and navies of their respective governments. To prolong this condition, the countries mentioned, with the possible exception of England, are supporting larger armies today than they ever had before the world war. Poland, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and Roumania are economically bankrupt; their peoples are taxed* beyond human endurance; and their armies are supported mainly with money advanced mostly by Belgium and France. The result, therefore, is that through the machination of a few groups of international financiers, two-thirds of Europe is now engaged in the process of robbing and enslaving one-third of that continent.†

The underlying cause, therefore, of the present chaotic and dangerously acute situation in Europe is the evident purpose of a few groups of international financiers,—the “powerful Jewish bankers of Europe” included,—to secure for themselves the full economic and political control of all of Europe. This was the reason for and the purpose of parcelling the territory of Europe into economically incompetent “states.” This was the purpose in mutilating the one thousand year old territory of Hungary. The result is that Europe today is under the full control of those international financiers. Fraud, murder, the spread of the most horrible diseases, decadence of the human race, hunger, premature death, international hatred, the crushing of souls, the threatened extermination of Christian civilization in Europe,—these

*The City Council of Temesvar, formerly of Hungary, but now occupied by Roumania, has recently passed an ordinance whereby funerals are taxed as luxuries. The amount of the tax is to be determined according to the number of horses used in the funeral. In a one-horse funeral the amount of the tax is to be two per cent of the total costs of the funeral; in a two-horse funeral, three per cent; in a six-horse funeral, ten per cent. The scale stops at the six-horse funeral.—“Szozat,” Budapest, January 5, 1924.

†See Nitti’s “Decadence of Europe,” pp. 154 and 258.

are the results of the insane greed for money and for power by the aforementioned international financiers of Europe.

In brief, there is no economic and political freedom in Europe. Europe cannot build a transcontinental railroad, because the English, Belgian and French groups of international financiers vigorously object to such an important improvement. Russia cannot have an ice-free port, because the same international financiers object, and in their objection they are supported by the armies and navies of their respective countries. Europe cannot have an unobstructed flow of intra-continental international commerce, because the same financial powers object. Every boundary line in Europe—and there are many of them—is a tariff wall. Consequently, all of Europe is economically paralyzed. The Christians of Europe must hate one another, because the aforementioned international financiers so desire. Hence, all of Europe is the economic, political, moral, spiritual and intellectual slave of the aforementioned insanely greedy and dangerously arrogant international financiers.

But peace must be established in Europe. Christian civilization should not perish. How shall, how must, peace be established? The *Invisible Power* of Europe is planning another war. If the dogs of war once more will be let loose, there will not be much left of Christian civilization. What is it then that must be done in order to save Europe, and incidentally the whole world, from the threatening awful catastrophe?

Various plans have been proposed whereby peace should be re-established in Europe. It is claimed by some politicians that the League of Nations will make peace. Others want a "World Court." There are those who advocate the "Hughes Plan." Others believe that the evacuation of the Ruhr Valley will bring peace to Europe. Still others insist that Europe should be given a huge international loan and thus there will be peace

in Europe. Recently another plan, the so-called "Bok Peace Plan," was proposed.

But the League of Nations is dead. It has met its well deserved death in the controversy between Italy and Greece. It went to its grave, and let it rest there. It had done no good to mankind. Its memory is unhallowed.* It will not make peace; for it is dead and buried.

The "World Court" is merely a political phrase. It has no substance. It exists merely in the imagination of political aspirants. A "World Court" to function would have to have a *World Jurisdiction* and a *World People* willing to submit to its jurisdiction. Even if the World Court were more than a political apparition, Europe would not submit to its jurisdiction. Would Italy, Turkey and England submit? Would Poincaré and the French international financiers behind him refrain from digging the grave of France? Would Russia, Germany, Hungary and Bulgaria submit to a perpetual slavery? What could the World Court do, if no nation would be willing to submit to it any question of international importance? What is the use of having a World Court, if it has neither jurisdiction, nor power to enforce its ruling?

In his first address to Congress, on December 6, 1923, President Coolidge defined the World Court as follows: "*The Court is merely a convenient instrument of adjustment to which we could go, but to which we could not be brought.*" This definition is clear enough. The World

*It is not as though the present league had accumulated any honor or prestige during its four years of life in Geneva. In the case of the Polish attack on Russia, in the case of the Greek aggression on Turkey, in regard to the occupation of the Ruhr, the murderous bombardment of Corfu and the stealing of the Greek deposit by the council of ambassadors to bribe the Italians to evacuate Corfu, it has shown itself trivial, useless and ridiculous. It is either silent before such outrages, or it speaks with quavering voice and nobody listens. It is a blind alley for good intentions, it is a weedy dump for all the weaknesses of European liberalism. **Its past is contemptible and the briefer its future the better for mankind.**"—H. G. Wells in the "Sunday News-Leader," October 21, 1923.

Court would be "a convenient instrument." We could file a complaint in the World Court against any nation; but if any nation would file a complaint against us, we could not be compelled to answer the charges, nor could we be compelled to obey the decision of that court. Undoubtedly, each and every nation under the jurisdiction of that "convenient" court would have an equal right under the law. If one can sue, then all can sue. If one cannot be compelled to answer the complaint filed against it, then the other nations cannot be compelled to answer the charges lodged against them. If, for example, France should send a fleet of her warships into the New York harbor and threaten to bombard the city unless the United States would be willing to cancel all the debt owed to it by France, what would the United States do? It would immediately file a complaint in the "convenient" World Court against France, praying that the court enjoin France from bombarding the City of New York and from killing unarmed men, women and children. But if "the court is merely a convenient instrument of adjustment to which we could go, but to which we could not be brought," what assurance is there that France would be willing to submit her claim to that "convenient" court? What would happen if France would answer that "I may go to this court if I am so pleased, but I cannot be compelled to answer the charges filed against me?" What would happen if France would say that she will settle the matter without inconveniencing herself by going to that "convenient" court? What would we do? Is there any doubt about it? We would—FIGHT!

The reader will have no difficulty to conceive how a "convenient" court "to which we can go, but to which we could not be brought" would work in a country. Let us suppose that we had that "convenient" court system here, and I would decide one night to break into my neighbor's house, and kill my neighbor and several members of his family, and then rob his home of everything

valuable therein. The next morning I would receive a courteous letter from the "convenient" court, asking me if I would not be good enough to appear before it to answer the charges of housebreaking, and first degree murder. But, since the court is merely a "convenient" court to which I "could go, but to which I could not be brought," I would answer that "I am not so disposed today to answer those charges." What could that court do if it were "merely a convenient court to which I could not be brought?" What would prevent me from repeating my nocturnal housebreaking and murder? Of what earthly use would that "convenient" court be if it could not compel me to attend, and then punish me for my crimes? Similarly, of what earthly use would a "convenient" World Court be if it could not mete out and enforce justice among the nations of the world?

Clearly, the proposed "convenient" World Court "to which we can go, but to which we could not be brought," has no peace-making qualities. It might help some aspiring politicians to win an election; but it will not make peace in Europe.

The "Hughes Plan" is to call certain international bankers to a conference to decide how much Germany should pay. But the world knows how much Germany can pay, without being told by the international bankers. Germany is crippled territorially and industrially. The value of her currency has been reduced almost to zero. The world knows and the international bankers know that, in her crippled condition, Germany can pay nothing. The cow is killed, and it cannot be milked. Besides, the international bankers are the last people on earth who should be entrusted with the duty of making peace for Europe. The reader of this book needs no further argument on this point. It might be added, however, that France has rejected the "Hughes Plan."

The evacuation of the Ruhr Valley alone will not restore peace to Europe; for the invasion of the Ruhr Valley by

the French, the murdering of German workingmen, their wives and children, are not matters of international concern. The invasion of the Ruhr Valley is merely a struggle among certain groups of English, French, Belgian and German international financiers. The question there is not how to restore peace to Europe, but which group of international financiers shall control the coal and iron mines in the Ruhr Valley, which are the sources of the iron and coal supply for Central Europe. The solution of that question alone will never solve the question of restoring and preserving the economic unity of Europe. It is sheer folly to believe and expect that the occupation or the evacuation of the Ruhr Valley by France will restore peace to Europe.

The truth concerning the Ruhr occupation is gradually coming into full light. Even some of the American newspapers are publishing facts which leave no doubt as to the purpose in the occupation of the Ruhr. On October 22, 1923, Otis P. Swift, United News Cable Editor, cabled to the subscribers of the United News the fact that the Rhineland had separated from Germany. This is exactly what certain international financiers expected. The Rhineland and the Ruhr contain the iron and coal supply of continental Europe. These supplies are controlled by certain international financiers. If the Rhineland and the Ruhr remained a part of Germany, the international financiers would have to pay a heavy part of the reparations, or, as Mr. Swift expresses it, "With the coming of peace, the industrial Ruhr and Rhineland would have to carry a heavy toll in the reparations payment." To avoid payment of their share in the reparations, the owners of the Rhineland and the Ruhr had brought about the separation of the Rhineland from Germany. "The industrialists," Mr. Swift continues, "are prepared to back the republican move. They would probably thus be freed of paying reparations, for France is said to have offered to waive reparations from the

Rhineland state. The industrialists would be dominant in a small, tight, industrial nation. By union with French industrialists they could practically monopolize the continental iron, steel and coal industries."* In other words, that section of Germany which is the center of the iron, steel and coal industries should be separated from Germany, so that a few groups of international financiers may control it. Thus the payment of reparations would be shifted upon that remaining part of Germany which has been robbed of its natural resources. The shylocks of Europe seem to know their business!

The Bok Peace Plan is the most recently proposed plan "to achieve and preserve world peace." Therein it is proposed that "The United States shall immediately enter the Permanent Court of International Justice; and that, in effect, the United States shall join the League of Nations, "without becoming a member" thereof. The plan ignores the necessity of the elimination of the causes of war; it takes no notice of the necessity of the restoration of the economic unity of Europe. It admits that Europe is sick; but it refrains from prescribing a remedy. It is entirely devoid of peace-making qualities; therefore, it will never "achieve and preserve world peace." It will take the highest degree of international moral courage and the noblest of Christian fortitude to restore world peace. The Bok Peace Plan might be of some value in a cheap political propaganda; but it will never be an instrumentality in restoring world peace.†

*"The Cleveland Press," October 22, 1923.

†"The fact is, there is a lack of frankness about the whole matter. No one is told **who** causes war. No one dares to tell why war is caused. No one hangs up a large sum in cash for correct and provable answer to the question, 'What is the race, what is the business of the men who make the biggest profit out of war?' No peace prize competition ever asks for answer to the question: 'Who are the men, alive today, who have power to cause war?'

"War will not be prevented by 'plans'; only knowledge can do that. The first knowledge to be gained concerns the men who have power to cause war on this globe. War does not spring from the people, nor even from the military men, but from a small group of

An international loan of whatever size will not restore peace to Europe. The scheme is to load upon the shoulders of certain European countries a heavy international loan, and thereby mortgage all the natural resources of those countries. A clear and convincing proof as to what the proposed international loan means to a country to which it is given is to be found in the conditions attached to the proposed fifty million dollar loan to Hungary. With the acceptance of the loan goes the economic, political and educational independence of the country. Such an international loan cannot and will not create a peaceful condition. To load upon a country a crushing international loan and, at the same time, to rob that country of its very soul, is hardly the proper way to bring about international peace.

The proposed international loan is to be "floated" by international financiers of Europe and of America. During the summer of 1923, Hungary was the Mecca of certain international Jewish financiers who suddenly became interested in Hungary,—the proposed loan to Hungary being then a burning question of the day. One of the well known Jewish financiers of New York made a speech in Budapest for Hungarian consumption, in which he insisted that "*the recuperation of Hungary is the interest of the whole world, if we can make it possible to bring about her recuperation.*" It, of course, is "WE,"

international financiers, all of the same race, who win wealth and power as a result of war. There are fifty or sixty men in the world—just enough to fill a small prison—whose capture and restraint would free the world from the peril of war.

"The League of Nations will never be as potent as this league of fifty or sixty international financiers . . . who are found on both sides of the war and on both sides of the peace, who hold conferences in neutral countries and who win equally rich rewards out of defeat as out of victory. They are the true red international."—"Mr. Ford's Page" in "The Dearborn Independent," February 9, 1924.

Mr. Ford's idea is all right; but the question still remains: "Where is the publisher who would dare to publish a plan or book the author of which would name the names and the race 'of the men who make the biggest profit out of war'?"

the financiers, "who can make it possible." Unfortunate Hungary, how the international financiers love her!

The proposed international loan is to be subscribed by the American people; and the international financiers who "float" it will take the profit therefrom. Those European financiers who have extracted fabulous sums of money from the pockets of the European peoples are heavy investors in American securities and large depositors in American banks. The money which should now be used in the economic reconstruction of Europe is either lying in American banks, or else invested in American securities. England is said to owe the United States the sum of \$4,000,000,000; and the investments of British financiers in American securities are said to exceed the sum England owes this country. "When the first German reparations payment of \$80,000,000 was made to the agents of the allied nations, the money was redeposited in the Federal Reserve banks. It was in American banks, but previous to payment it was German owned, and after payment it was Allied-owned."^{*}

The Harriman National Bank in its July report published in the New York Tribune, said: "The great war has filled our banks with the bulk of the gold of the world. Some of this gold really belongs here, but the greater part is loaned to us, otherwise our prosperity would be in jeopardy."[†]

The proposed international loan would be nothing less than a means to create a new international hatred. The certificates of the loan would be printed in America and held in American banks. The "American terms," and an American "Dictator" would be sent over to the debtor countries to rule over them, to direct the levy and collection of their taxes, to control their internal policies, and to dictate to them

*See article by W. H. Allen in "The Dearborn Independent," October 13, 1923: "Gold Bulging Our Banks Not Ours."

†Quoted: *Ibid.*

their international relationship. The American people would be pictured in the debtor countries as cruel "dollar chasing people" whose only concern in this life is to enslave the less fortunate peoples of Europe. This would be a rather ingenious method of creating an anti-American feeling in Europe. This would be the first step in preparing the peoples of Europe for the already much heralded "NEXT WAR!"

Francesco Nitti, ex-Prime Minister of Italy, who knows whereof he speaks, in his book, "The Decadence of Europe," published in the month of April, 1923, on page 263, earnestly appeals to the American people NOT to make an international loan to Europe. He says: "*It would be beneficial, I might say that it is essential to the cause of peace, for America not to advance any loans to European states. Every loan which America makes to European countries maintaining large standing armies, whether it take the form of buying shares in an industry, or of lending money to local bodies, produces nothing but harm, because it serves indirectly to perpetuate the state of disorder and of war which stamps the life of Europe. The loans are a bad act; and while the disorder lasts, they may even make bad business.*"*

It is evident that none of the foregoing panacea will cure the evils in Europe, nor will they restore peace. The foregoing plans are vote-getting or vote-chasing political plans. We would suggest to an enterprising politician who does not have in his political sleeves a prescription for the ills of Europe to propose the following plan: *That the international students of history, geography, Capital and Labor, finance, industry, commerce, education and economics, should be called into a conference to decide how much the international financiers should pay towards reparations and towards the economic rebuilding of Europe.* This plan will not be supported by the

*The italics are ours.

international financiers, but it will do surprisingly well for political purposes.

If the foregoing plans cannot and will not bring about peace in Europe, what is it then that should be done and must be done in order to restore peace to Europe?

Europe must clean house. She must declare her economic, political, spiritual, moral and intellectual independence. *She must dethrone the uncrowned Invisible Power of Europe.* She must assert and enjoy her independence and the right to develop her own economic and political advantages and to cultivate and put into full practice intra-continental international understanding and good will. In short, if she is to have peace, *Europe must free herself from the control of her arrogant task-masters, the international financiers.*

This does not necessarily mean that the Jews of Europe should be "persecuted." There is no sense in the "persecution" of the Jews, because all the Jews are not responsible for the acts of the international Jewish financiers. Those international financiers who "hate Hungary" do not appear to exhibit any special love for the Jews, although some "far-sighted" Jewish leaders are feverishly preparing and "building up" Palestine. All the Jews of Europe cannot go to Palestine, for there is not room enough there to hold all of them. The surplus cannot immigrate into the United States, because the gates are closed before them, and those gates will never be lifted.* All Europe needs to do is to declare her independence and to proceed in using her economic and political freedom in the upbuilding of Europe. The international Jews will learn sooner or later to take their

*Burton J. Hendrick, in his "The Jews in America," page 2, says: "Congress has passed and the president has signed an immigration law chiefly intended—it is just as well to be frank about the matter—to restrict the entrance of Jews from Eastern Europe. In the long tragedy of Israel there is no misfortune quite so deplorable as **the increasing unfriendliness in the great liberty-loving Anglo-Saxon democracies.**"

proper places in human society. Thus, by freeing herself from international Jewish and Judaized control, Europe will take her first and all-important step toward the establishment of a permanent peace.

Europe must be reorganized on an economic basis. This means, of course, a sane and just revision of the peace treaty by which the Paris Peace Conference delivered Europe into the hands of the aforementioned international financiers. The boundaries of Europe must be so rearranged as to restore her economic unity.

All the economic resources of Europe should be pooled and used in the economic reconstruction of Europe. There is enough wealth and natural resources in Europe to rebuild her on an economic basis. The fact is that a few international financiers of Europe are in full possession and full control of practically all the wealth and natural resources of Europe. If that wealth and those natural resources would be released and used in her economic rebuilding, Europe would get on her feet in a surprisingly short time. Henry Ford has stated the full truth when he said: "Never mind the League of Nations. Get hold of fifty of the wealthiest Jewish financiers, the men who are interested in making wars for their own profit. Control them and you will put an end to it all."*

The present tariff walls in Europe should be torn down and international commerce should be given a free right of way. As Europe is divided at the present time, every boundary line is a high tariff wall. International commerce is halted, examined, marked and taxed at every boundary line. If, for example, a horse is shipped from Berlin to Constantinople, it is halted, examined, marked and taxed at about six different international boundary lines.* Or, if one would travel from Berlin to Constantinople, he would be halted, examined, his baggage marked, his passport visaed at about six different inter-

*Quoted in the "Cleveland News," September 20, 1923.

†See map on page 296.

national boundaries, and he would have to obtain the consent of about six different governments to make the journey between the two points. This unnecessary obstacle should be eliminated and the free flow of international commerce and travel should be facilitated.

A uniform monetary system should be devised and established for all the countries in Europe, just as we have it in the United States of America. This would eliminate the jugglery in international money exchange; it would eliminate and get rid of a large number of useless parasites who are now making their existence possible only through jugglery by speculating in international money exchange, and who are extremely interested in creating and continuing international hatred, suspicion and rivalry. A uniform monetary system would eliminate and get rid of this element which has been in the past, and which is today, one of the most dangerous parts and parcel of the cancer which is undermining the health, peace and prosperity of Europe.

All the sea ports of Europe should be opened and freed for the use of each and every European nation. Likewise, all the navigable rivers and canals, all the railways and highways, should be freed and opened for the free flow of international commerce. Blessed would be the hands which would thus tie together the economic interests of all the peoples of Europe; for peoples who have identical and mutual economic interests are not interested in, and have no reason to fight, bloody wars.

The past and present struggles of Europe make it evident that *the economic unification of Europe is the only way of restoring peace to Europe.* Several groups of international financiers and their hired propagandists oppose the economic unification of Europe; but the reader should remember that some of those financiers just as vehemently oppose the economic unity of the United States of America. In 1922 there was an American movement on foot to connect the American Great Lakes

with the Atlantic Ocean, so that European ships might take their cargoes direct to Cleveland, Ohio, and to points further West. This waterway connection with Europe would result in a great boom in international commerce in the Middle West of this country. Yet, what happened? Let Congressman Theodore Burton of Cleveland, Ohio, tell. He said: "*New York interests are bitterly opposing the project.*"* It might not be amiss to observe here that New York is, *as yet*, a part of the United States of America; that those "*New York interests*," whatever they are, very probably are surrounded by a glossy halo of superb "Americanism"; yet, they are bitterly opposing the project" which was devised for the benefit of the American people. It is the same kind of "*European interests*" that are bitterly opposing the economic unification of Europe.

The economic unification of Europe will result in a permanent peace in Europe. It will unite the peoples and nations of Europe into one economic unity—one identical INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC INTEREST. INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE is inherent in international economic interest. INTERNATIONAL COMMON UNDERSTANDING is inherently present in international justice and in international economic interest. Inherent in this INTERNATIONAL TRINITY is INTERNATIONAL PEACE.

*Quoted in "The Cleveland Press," January 28, 1922.

XXVII.

AN APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

The eyes of Hungary and of Europe are turned toward the American people. It is now the unanimous opinion of the world that only the American people can lift Europe out of her present chaotic condition. It is the American people who can help Europe to find her soul and to save herself from complete collapse. It is the American people who can save Christian civilization in Europe.

But what can or should the American people do in order to save Europe? Shall we send an army or navy, or both, to kill more men, women and children there, and then impose peace? Or, shall we join the defunct League of Nations which was created to safeguard the interests of the uncrowned and invisible rulers of Europe? Or, shall we join the "World Court,"—that political apparition? Or, shall we tell our international financiers to give a large international loan to Europe, and then send our army and navy there to safeguard and collect that loan? Or, shall we learn to love those whom the international financiers hate? Or, shall we help Europe to find her soul and then help her to save herself from a complete collapse?

Europe is sick. Her ailments are diagnosed. She is suffering from a nervous prostration as the result of the idiotic dismemberment of her territory and destruction of her economic unity. It is not crutches that she needs. She needs to practice self-reliance. The natural resources God has placed in the soil of Europe are still there. Her acquired wealth, or at least the owners thereof, are still there. If Europe will make use of all

her natural resources and all her acquired wealth, she will get well, strong, happy, peaceful and prosperous.

But, like a sick man, the hundreds of millions of suffering human beings in Europe need the encouragement of their healthy brothers and sisters. Europe has enough natural energy to regain her health, if she could summon enough courage to use that energy. Blessed shall be the tongue that will encourage Europe to find her soul, to regain her self-reliance, and to depend upon her own economic resources.

Europe needs this encouragement, and not patented fake medicines. The American people are the only people in the world who can give this much needed encouragement. In giving this encouragement the American people would not have to expend their money; they would not have to transfuse their blood; they would not have to offer any material sacrifice. All that the American people would have to do would be to offer their co-operation to the peoples of Europe to work out justice among themselves; and, by proper suggestions, to lead them onto the normal channel of life. The following, then, are the methods which this writer begs his fellow citizens, the American people, to consider, and, if found feasible, to act upon:

Let the United States Senate declare that the American people are ready and willing to co-operate with the peoples of Europe to work out justice among themselves and to bring about a peaceful and orderly condition in Europe, provided each and every nation in Europe is ready and willing to accept and act upon the following basic principles: That—

- (1) All European nations shall accord full justice to one another.
- (2) The economic unity of Europe shall be restored.
- (3) Each and every nation in Europe shall be guided by the principle of "live and let live";

that they shall do unto others that which they would want others to do unto them.

- (4) An honest inventory of all the wealth and economic resources of Europe shall be made, and the same shall be pooled and used in the economic reconstruction of Europe.
- (5) The Versailles Treaty and all sub-treaties thereunder shall be nullified, and a new peace treaty shall be written and entered into.

If these basic principles are accepted by all the nations of Europe, let the United States Senate authorize the President to invite all the nations of the world to a World Conference to be held at Washington, or in some other equally suitable city in the United States of America. Each nation to have one chief delegate. All delegates are to be on equal plane. Such delegates may be assisted by any number of experts and advisers.

The delegates are not to be ignorant politicians, or dependent diplomats, or political coxcombs; they should be learned economists, historians, geographers, ethnographers, educators and true representatives of Christian civilization. They should be well versed in the problems of Labor and Capital, intra- and international politics, commerce, finance and education. Their experts and advisers should not be international financiers, or hired employees or representatives of international financiers. The grave and costly mistakes of the Paris Peace Conference should be avoided.

The Conference should be presided over by the American delegate thereto. It should be open to the public, and a stenographic record should be taken of all the proceedings. This world business should be conducted in the open and above board.

The Conference should proceed at once to nullify the Versailles Treaty and all the sub-treaties thereunder. The inventory taken by Europe should be laid before the Conference. Each nation should place its card on the

table of the Conference. Upon examination of the inventory of Europe, the Conference should proceed to eliminate all the underlying causes of and reasons for the present economic chaos in Europe. With due regard for the economic unity of Europe its present boundary lines should be re-drawn, and thus the economic unity of Europe restored. The present tariff walls in Europe should be razed to the ground. The European highways, railways, navigable rivers and canals, and all the sea ports should be made free and open for the use of every nation in Europe. A uniform monetary system should be devised and established for all of Europe. Europe should agree to pay her debts to the United States. No more international loans should be asked from or given by the United States until peace is reestablished in Europe. The burden of reparation should be shifted upon the shoulders of those who were actually responsible for causing the world war and who are the direct beneficiaries thereof; otherwise, same should be distributed among all the European nations who actually partook in the world war, each to pay according to its ability to pay. Thus the restoration of the economic unity, the reconstruction and the reunion of Europe would be accomplished, and justice would be done. And since justice is the very soul of peace, it is evident that peace would thus be re-established.

The sovereignty of each nation in Europe, for domestic purposes, should be respected and acknowledged. However, no nation should be permitted to make either political or commercial treaty with another European nation; the international relation among the various nations in Europe should be governed by the peace treaty to be made by this Conference. Not a single sovereign nation in Europe should be allowed to make a separate political or commercial treaty with any non-European nation, the terms of which treaty would, in any way, be detrimental to any other sovereign nation in Europe;

but that all such treaties should be governed by the peace treaty this Conference would make. Thus the political and commercial conflicting interests which are now undermining the very life of Europe would be eliminated, and a uniform economic interest would be created for all the nations in Europe. Peoples who have a unified economic interest have neither reason nor desire to fight their fellow men.

The treaty made by this Conference should provide that agitating for, aiding, or abetting, or levying war, shall be an act of high treason, and the party or parties found guilty thereof shall be punished by death. War should be declared not a necessity but an international crime.

The Conference should proceed to organize THE ECONOMIC FEDERATION OF EUROPE. The constitution, the supreme law by which this Economic Federation of Europe is to be governed, should be the treaty made by this Conference.

The Conference should provide a legal machinery whereby the terms of the treaty are to be enforced and the peace of Europe safeguarded. This machinery should consist of an ECONOMIC CONGRESS OF EUROPE, an EXECUTIVE TRIBUNAL and a JUDICIAL TRIBUNAL. The members of the Economic Congress should be appointed by the Parliaments of the sovereign nations of Europe, the Parliament of each such nation appointing one representative to the Congress. The first members of the Executive Tribunal and of the Judicial Tribunal should be appointed by the World Conference, and the vacancies which will thereafter occur should be filled by the Economic Congress of Europe.

The members of the Congress and Tribunals should be Europeans. As there is no acceptable reason for a representative of Europe or of any other continent to sit in the Congress of the United States of America, there is no reason why an American representative

should sit in the Congress of Europe which shall concern itself with European economic problems only. Nor is there more reason for an American acting either as an executive or a judiciary in the European Tribunal, than there is a reason for a European sitting in the presidential chair or on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States of America. If she can get started in the right direction, Europe will be able to handle her own affairs, without any outside interference, as the United States of America is able to handle her own affairs, without any outside interference.

The duties and powers of the Economic Congress of Europe, and of the Executive and the Judicial Tribunals should be circumscribed in the treaty and limited to the territory of the continent of Europe.

The Economic Congress of Europe should be given a general power to pass laws which would from time to time become necessary for the general welfare of all of Europe. This Congress, however, should be given no power to interfere in the domestic affairs of any sovereign nation in Europe. No law should be passed by the Congress in contradiction or violation of any of the terms of the treaty by which it (the Congress) was created. The powers and duties of the Congress should be similar to the powers and duties of the United States Congress, making laws not for the individual states, but for the benefit of all the states, at the same time safeguarding the entire Continent from any abuse of power by the Executive and Judicial Tribunals.

The duties, powers and jurisdiction of the Judicial Tribunal should cover every international question arising under the treaty and limited to the territory of Europe, or which may, in any way, endanger or tend to endanger the peace of Europe or of the world. It should have jurisdiction to pass upon the constitutionality of all the laws passed by the Economic Congress of Europe. It should have jurisdiction over and power to sentence to

death persons who are charged with the crime of high treason. It should have power and jurisdiction to enjoin any European nation, its citizen or citizens, including members or employees of corporations from engaging in any act in Europe or in any other Continent, which may jeopardize or tend to jeopardize the peace of Europe or of the world. It should have jurisdiction and power to sentence any person, citizen or citizens of any foreign countries, who are discovered and apprehended while engaged, within the boundaries of Europe, in any act which may jeopardize or tend to jeopardize the peace of Europe or of the world. The decisions and sentences imposed by the Judicial Tribunal shall not be nullified, except by the vote of three-fourths of the actual membership of the Congress and with the concurrence of the Executive.

The Judicial Tribunal, however, should have no jurisdiction over purely domestic affairs of the sovereign nations of Europe. The sovereignty of each nation should be respected, provided such sovereign nations commit no act in violation of the terms of the treaty, or in violation of the acts of the Congress, the decisions of the Judicial Tribunal, or the lawful acts of the Executive.

The number of members sitting in the Judicial Tribunal and the rules and procedures thereof should be decided by the World Conference and included in the treaty, following closely the composition, rules and procedures of the Supreme Court of the United States of America.

The duty of the Executive Tribunal should be to enforce the provisions of the peace treaty, to execute the laws passed by the Economic Congress of Europe, and also the decisions of the Judicial Tribunal. It should have power to make commercial treaties, in behalf and for the benefit of all of Europe, with other continents or nations thereof, with the advice and concurrent consent of the Economic Congress of Europe and the Judicial

Tribunal. It should be made powerful enough to perform its duty. In the execution of its duty it may use economic or military or naval weapons, or both. All nations of Europe should contribute enough military and naval force for this purpose, and such forces should be placed at the command of the Executive. In the event any attack directed by any foreign country or non-European power against any nation in Europe, such attack should be considered an attack upon all of Europe; and, in such an event, the Executive should be authorized to use all the military and naval forces at his disposal to repel such an attack. In the event more military or naval forces should become necessary to repel such an attack, the Executive should be authorized to call upon the nations in Europe to contribute the necessary forces, in such proportion as provided in the treaty.

The Executive Tribunal, however, should be given no power to provoke or declare war either within the Economic Federation of Europe or against any non-European power, unless and until an honest attempt shall have been made to arbitrate the question threatening war, and until all the adult men and women of Europe shall have voted upon the question of war or peace, and the majority of such voters of each nation shall have voted for war. In the event of a sudden and unwarmed attack, however, the Executive may proceed to repel such attack, without arbitration or vote. Violation of this duty by the Executive should be declared high treason and punishable by death.

Any member of the Executive or Judicial Tribunal may be impeached and removed from office by a vote of three-fourths of the actual members of the Economic Congress of Europe. Unfitness for the office and violation of duty should be declared to be grounds for impeachment. The vacancy thus created should be filled by the Congress.

The right of Europe to levy import duties at its ports

to defray the administrative expenses of the Central Government (Congress, Executive and Judicial Tribunals) should be considered in the treaty as a purely European question.

The World Conference which is to be held in Washington, or elsewhere in the United States of America, should draw up a peace treaty, embodying therein the foregoing terms. The treaty then should be signed by all the European delegates to the Conference, and same should be ratified, within three months, by all the nations of Europe. Ratified, the treaty should be put into execution at once.

The ratification and execution of this treaty would result in the re-birth of Europe. Under this treaty there would be and there could be no war in Europe. For,—it cannot be repeated too often and 'too emphatically that,—peoples who have an identical economic interest have no reason and desire to fight bloody wars. Racial prejudices disappear from the presence of identical economic interests. *The restoration of the economic unity of Europe and the establishment of an identical economic interest for all the peoples of Europe will make war not only unwelcomed, unnecessary and odious, but also an international crime.*

In order to secure peace among the various Continents of the world, the World Conference should establish an *Inter-Continental (or World) Board of Arbitration*. The jurisdiction of this Board should cover only inter-continental questions. Any inter-continental question which cannot be disposed of through the ordinary channels of *open diplomacy* should be referred to this Board for arbitration. The hearing before this Board should be open to the public and its proceedings should be published. The decision of this Board should be final and binding upon all the continents and upon the nations therein.

Any continent, or nation thereof, which should refuse to abide by the decision of this Board should be con-

sidered and treated as an outlaw, and all diplomatic and commercial relation should be severed therewith. In the event such recalcitrant continent or nation thereof should attack another continent or nation thereof, in violation of the decision of the Board, it should be lawful for such continent or nation thereof to repel such attack. The other continents and nations should, at once, institute an economic blockade against the recalcitrant continent or nation. No continent or nation can successfully fight against the whole world.

The World Conference should appoint the members of this Board. Their number, their tenure of office, their compensation, their qualifications, and the grounds of their removal, should be prescribed by the World Conference. *No corporation lawyer, no director, officer or employee of any corporation should be made eligible to the membership of this Board.*

Exploitation of, or an attempt to exploit, on the part of any nation or citizen or corporation thereof, all or part of the territory of any sovereign nation, without the free consent of such nation, should not be permitted by the Inter-Continental Board of Arbitration. The treaty should provide specifically that any person of whatsoever citizenship apprehended in the act, or in aiding or counselling such act of exploitation, shall be charged with treason, and it shall be lawful for the nation in whose territory such act is committed, to try such violators under the terms of this treaty and, if found guilty, to put him to death.

All the nations of the world should pledge their honor to the faithful performance of the provisions of this treaty.

The foregoing suggestions, if acted upon, would not involve the United States of America in the affairs of Europe, nor would they necessitate the entrance of this country into any "entangling alliance." The plan hereinbefore set forth would merely invite Europe and the

whole world to have peace; it invites especially Europe to find her soul and to do justice to herself. The peoples of Europe would not reject this invitation, if extended to them. The Invisible Power of Europe would not dare to oppose the acceptance of this invitation.

The World Conference, hereinbefore suggested, would undoubtedly right the unprecedented wrongs committed against Hungary and to other European countries. The only permanent foundation for international peace is international justice. Without international justice, there cannot be international peace. Without the restoration of the economic unity of Hungary, without the restoration of the economic unity of all of Europe, there cannot be peace in Europe. Without the establishment of a unified, common, and identical economic interest for all of the peoples in Europe, there cannot be permanent peace in Europe. These things can be accomplished if the American people will invite the nations of Europe to deliberate upon and work out the details of the economic unification of Europe.

But what will happen if the Invisible Power which is now controlling Europe should object to the convening of a World Conference? Would the American people remain powerless in extending their helping hand to the hundreds of millions of suffering human beings in Europe? Would the American people be cut off from all avenues wherein they might be helpful in aiding the European peoples to bring about peace in Europe? No! If the American people desire to be instrumental in bringing Europe out of her chaotic condition and to save the hundreds of millions of helpless human beings from the clutches of the unmerciful shylocks of Europe, there is no power on earth which can obstruct them in so doing. In performing this important service, the American people need not enter the so-called League of Nation or the "World Court." The step in this direction would not involve the American people in any foreign

affairs; it would, however, benefit them first and, at the same time, compel the Shylocks of Europe to refrain from obstructing the advent of peace.

The alternative suggestion which is about to be made obviously does not involve any sacrifice on the part of the American people. The suggestion is this: *Let the American people demand the immediate payment of all the European debt due to this country. If the payment is refused, let the American Government proceed to confiscate all the European owned bank deposits in American banks and all the investments made by European investors in this country, and then apply the same to the payment of the debt due to this country.* Such a step would have a marvelous effect upon the *Invisible Power in Europe*.

And the American people would be agreeably surprised to learn of the tremendous peace-making power they have.

And Europe, at last, would have real PEACE!

SUPPLICATION

“When wilt Thou save the people?

“O God of Mercy! when?

“Not kings and lords, but nations!

“Not thrones and crowns, but men!

“Flowers of thy heart, O God, are they!

“Let them not pass, like weeds, away!

“Their heritage a sunless day!

“God save the people!”

ELLIOT.

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